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THE EPICS AND PURĀṆAS

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A. D. PUSALKER



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1955

Published for
HINDUSTAN CELLULOSE & PAPER CO., LTD.

by
BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN
CHAUPATTY, BOMBAY.

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BY P. N. RAMAN AT THE ASSOCIATED ADVERTISERS AND PRINTERS LTD., 505, A
ROAD, TARDEO, BOMBAY 7, AND PUBLISHED BY S. RAMAKRISHNAN REDDIAR
BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, BOMBAY 7

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan—that Institute of Indian Culture in Bombay—needed a Book University, a series of books which, if read, would serve the purpose of providing higher education. Particular excellence, however, was to be put on such literature as reflected the deeper impulsions of India. As a first step, it was decided to bring out in English 100 books, 50 of which were to be taken in hand almost at once. Each book was to contain from 200 to 250 pages and was to be priced at Rs. 1-12-0.

It is our intention to publish the books we select, not only in English, but also in the following Indian languages: Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam.

This scheme, involving the publication of 900 volumes, requires ample funds and an all-India organisation. The Bhavan is exerting its utmost to supply them.

The objectives for which the Bhavan stands are the reintegration of the Indian culture in the light of modern knowledge and to suit our present-day needs and the resuscitation of its fundamental values in their pristine vigour.

Let me make our goal more explicit:

We seek the dignity of man, which necessarily implies the creation of social conditions which would allow him freedom to evolve along the lines of his own temperament and capacities; we seek the harmony of individual efforts and social relations, not in any makeshift way, but within the frame-work of the Moral Order; we seek the creative art of life, by the alchemy of which human limitations are progressive-

ly transmuted, so that man may become the instrument of God, and is able to see Him in all and all in Him.

The world, we feel, is too much with us. Nothing would uplift or inspire us so much as the beauty and aspiration which such books can teach.

In this series, therefore, the literature of India, ancient and modern, will be published in a form accessible to all. Books in other literatures of the world, if they illustrate the principles we stand for, will also be included.

This common pool of literature, it is hoped, will enable the reader, eastern or western, to understand and appreciate currents of world thought, as also the movements of the mind in India, which, though they flow through different linguistic channels, have a common urge and aspiration.

Fittingly, the Book University's first venture is the *Mahabharata*, summarised by one of the greatest living Indians, C. Rajagopalachari; the second work is on a section of it; the *Gita* by H. V. Divatia, an eminent jurist and a student of philosophy. Centuries ago, it was proclaimed of the *Mahabharata*: "What is not in it, is nowhere." After twenty-five centuries, we can use the same words about it. He who knows it not, knows not the heights and depths of the soul; he misses the trials and tragedy and the beauty and grandeur of life.

The *Mahabharata* is not a mere epic; it is a romance, telling the tale of heroic men and women and of some who were divine; it is a whole literature in itself, containing a code of life; a philosophy of social and ethical relations, and speculative thought on human problems that is hard to rival; but, above

all, it has for its core the Gita, which is, as the world is beginning to find out, the noblest of scriptures and the grandest of sagas in which the climax is reached in the wondrous Apocalypse in the Eleventh Canto.

Through such books alone the harmonies underlying true culture, I am convinced, will one day reconcile the disorders of modern life.

I thank all those who have helped to make this new branch of the Bhavan's activity successful.

QUEEN VICTORIA ROAD,

NEW DELHI:

3rd October 1951

K. M. MUNSHI

CONTENTS

	Page
General Editor's Preface	v
Foreword	ix
Preface	xi
Abbreviations	xiii
Introduction	xviii
I. Purāṇic Cosmogony	1
II. Were the Purāṇas originally in Prakrit?	25
III. Vāyu Purāṇa versus Śiva Purāṇa ..	31
IV. Kuruśravaṇa and Kuru-Saṁvaraṇa ..	42
V. Historicity of Kṛṣṇa	49
VI. Epic and Purāṇic Studies	82

FOREWORD

The Purāṇas occupy a unique position in Indian literature, both sacred and secular. After the *Mahābhārata* they have been the main sources of inspiration in the life of our people for over 1500 years.

Composed at different times, they not only contain, as is now acknowledged, valuable historical material, but also canons relating to several spheres of art and life. If the materials relating to social life, century after century, found scattered in the different Purāṇas, are properly studied, they will throw considerable light on the social evolution of the country during the early centuries of the Christian era.

By their investing the shrines and sacred places with religious significance, the Purāṇas have enabled our people to maintain unimpaired the sense of the unity of India; of the continuity of her cultural life; of the inevitability of its destiny. A detailed and thorough study of the Purāṇas requires to be made. Dr. Pusalker has made a special study of them. His section on Traditional History in the *Vedic Age* volume of the *History and Culture of the Indian People* is a notable contribution in reconstructing the past in the light of the historical materials found in the Purāṇas.

This book brings into one volume articles on Epics and the Purāṇas written by Dr. Pusalker from time to time. Besides throwing light on important problems connected with the Purāṇas, they have the merit of being characterised by thoroughness and sanity of outlook.

This volume, therefore, will be a useful addition to the Book University and will help the reader in appreciating the strength which lies behind Indian Culture.

Naini Tal,
Sept. 14, 1955.

K. M. MUNSHI

PREFACE

The present book owes its origin and publication to the kind interest shown in my work by H. E. Dr. K. M. Munshi, who not only gave me constant encouragement and suggested the publication of my articles in book-form, but was actually responsible for the idea worked out in Chapter IV — the identity of Kuruśravaṇa and Kuru — which his creative imagination had foreseen. This volume is a collection of different papers which are intended to serve as an introduction to the study of the epics and Purāṇas. The papers appeared in different journals and books and I have taken this opportunity of revising them. The last paper on "Epic and Purāṇic Studies", which originally covered the period up to 1942, has been brought up-to-date. I have specially prepared an introduction for this volume dealing with the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the Purāṇas, which is expected to be of use to readers.

Chapters I and IV originally appeared as articles in the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, and Chapter V as Chapter II, Section III, in the *Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa*, Vol. I, published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. I am grateful to the authorities of the Bhavan for their permission to print them in this book. Chapter II originally appeared in *Dhruva Commemoration Volume*, and I offer my grateful thanks to the Editor Prof. Rasiklal Parikh for granting me permission to publish the article here. Chapter III formed an article in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, and I am indebted to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay for granting me the permission. Chapter VI, which originally appeared in the *Progress of Indic Studies* published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, is being published here

with the kind permission of the authorities of the Institute, to whom my thanks are due.

In the preparation of "Epic and Purāṇic Studies" I received immense help from my revered Guru the late Dr. Sukthankar, who has laid me under a permanent obligation. I am also deeply indebted to my revered Guru Prof. Velankar, who was ever willing with his valuable guidance and suggestions, and I have derived much benefit from him. Prof. Dr. Gode, as usual, was always helpful, and I record my deep debt of gratitude to him. My friend Dr. Hazra has obliged me by giving me a list of his contributions on Purāṇic studies, by the gift of off-prints of his articles, and by occasional suggestions. To another friend Prof. Gore I owe a special debt of gratitude for the troubles he took for me in going carefully through the press-copy, in offering valuable suggestions, and in helping in the correction of most of the galley-proofs.

A.D.P.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI.	<i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.</i>
AIHT.	<i>Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, by F. E. Pargiter.</i>
AJP.	<i>American Journal of Philology.</i>
AO.	<i>Acta Orientalia, Leiden.</i>
AOR.	<i>Annals of Oriental Research, Madras University.</i>
ASJ. Comm. Vol.	<i>Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume, Calcutta University.</i>
ASR.	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.</i>
ASVOI.	<i>Annals of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati.</i>
AUS.	<i>Allahabad University Studies.</i>
BCV.	<i>Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, Poona.</i>
BDCRI.	<i>Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona.</i>
Bhg.	<i>Bhagavadgītā.</i>
BISMQ.	<i>Bhārat Itihās Samsodhak Maṇḍal Quarterly, Poona.</i>
BORI.	<i>Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.</i>
BRRI.	<i>Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute, Trichur.</i>
BSOS.	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, London.</i>
BV.	<i>Bhāratiya Vidyā, Bombay.</i>
CAI.	<i>Chronology of Ancient India.</i>
CHI.	<i>Cambridge History of India. (Vol. I. Ed. by E. J. Rapson).</i>
CR.	<i>Calcutta Review, Calcutta.</i>

Cult. Her.	<i>Cultural Heritage of India.</i>
DKA.	<i>Dynasties of the Kali Age</i> , by F. E. Pargiter.
DUS.	<i>Dacca University Studies.</i>
EHVS.	<i>Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect</i> , by H. C. Raychaudhuri.
EI.	<i>Epigraphia Indica.</i>
ERE.	<i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.</i> Ed. by Hastings.
GEI.	<i>Great Epic of India</i> , by E. W. Hopkins.
GGA.	<i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</i> , Berlin.
HC.	<i>Hindu Civilisation</i> , by Radhakumud Mookerji.
HCSL.	<i>History of Classical Sanskrit Literature</i> , by M. Krishnamachariar.
HD.	<i>History of Dharmaśāstra</i> , by P. V. Kane.
HIL.	<i>History of Indian Literature</i> , by M. Winternitz (English translation published by the Calcutta University).
HSL.	<i>History of Sanskrit Literature.</i>
IA.	<i>Indian Antiquary</i> , Bombay.
IC.	<i>Indian Culture</i> , Calcutta.
IHQ.	<i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i> , Calcutta.
Ind. Alt.	<i>Indische Alterthumskunde</i> , by Ch. Lassen.
Indol. Prag.	<i>Indologica Pragensia</i> , Prague.
IR.	<i>Indian Review</i> , Madras.
JA.	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> , Paris.
JAHS.	<i>Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society</i> , Rajahmundry.
JAOS.	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i>
JARS.	<i>Journal of the Assam Research Society</i> , Gauhati.
JAS.	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society</i> , Calcutta.

JASB.	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.</i>
JBBRAS.	<i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.</i>
JBHU.	<i>Journal of the Banaras Hindu University.</i>
JBORS (JBRS)	<i>Journal of the Behar (and Orissa) Research Society, Patna.</i>
JDL.	<i>Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.</i>
JGIS.	<i>Journal of the Greater India Society, Calcutta.</i>
JGJRI.	<i>Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.</i>
JGRS.	<i>Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Bombay.</i>
JIH.	<i>Journal of Indian History, Madras (Trivandrum).</i>
JISOA.	<i>Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.</i>
JISVR.	<i>Journal of the Indian School of Vedic Research.</i>
JOI.	<i>Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.</i>
JOR.	<i>Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.</i>
JRAS.	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.</i>
JRASB(L).	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, (Letters), Calcutta.</i>
JRRI.	<i>Journal of the Rama Varma Research Institute, Trichur.</i>
JSVOI.	<i>Journal of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati.</i>
JUB.	<i>Journal of the University of Bombay, Bombay.</i>
JUPHS.	<i>Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, Lucknow.</i>

KSS.	<i>Kathāsaritsāgara</i> , by Somadeva.
MA SI.	<i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.</i>
Mbh. (B); (Cr. Ed.)	<i>Mahābhārata</i> . (Bombay Edition); (Critical Edition published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona).
MR.	<i>Modern Review</i> , Calcutta.
NGGW.	<i>Nachrichten Göttingischer Gessellschaft der Wissenschaften.</i>
NIA.	<i>New Indian Antiquary</i> , Bombay.
NPP.	<i>Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Patrikā</i> , Banaras.
NSP.	Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay.
NUJ.	<i>Nagpur University Journal.</i>
OC.	Oriental Conference.
OLD.	<i>Oriental Literary Digest</i> , Poona.
OLZ.	<i>Oriental Literatur-Zeitung</i> , Leipzig.
ORLI.	<i>Outline of the Religious Literature of India</i> , by J. N. Farquhar.
P.	<i>Purāṇa.</i>
PB.	<i>Prabuddha Bhārata</i> , Calcutta.
PHAI.	<i>Political History of Ancient India</i> , by H. C. Raychaudhuri.
PIHC.	<i>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.</i>
PO.	<i>Poona Orientalist</i> , Poona.
POC.	<i>Proceedings of the (All-India) Oriental Conference.</i>
QJMS.	<i>Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society</i> , Bangalore.
Rg. (RV).	<i>Rgveda.</i>
RI.	<i>Religions of India.</i>
SB.	<i>Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.</i>
Sc. & C.	<i>Science and Culture</i> , Calcutta.
SIA.	<i>Studies in Indian Antiquities</i> , by H. C. Raychaudhuri.

SME.	<i>Sukthankar Memorial Edition</i> , Ed. by P. K. Gode.
Taitt. Bra.	<i>Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa</i> .
UCR.	<i>University of Ceylon Review</i> , Colombo.
VBQ.	<i>Vishva Bharati Quarterly</i> , Santiniketan.
Ved. Ind.	<i>Vedic Index</i> , by A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith.
Ved. Stud.	<i>Vedische Studien</i> .
VK.	<i>Vedānta Kesari</i> , Madras.
VS.	<i>Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems</i> , by R. G. Bhandarkar.
WZKM.	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> , Wien.
ZDMG.	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> , Leipzig.
ZIL.	<i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik</i> , Leipzig.

INTRODUCTION

The epic literature in India consists of Itihāsa and Purāṇa, which convey the sense of the epic and the Pañcalakṣaṇa, the former comprising the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the latter the *Mahāpurāṇas* and *Upa-purāṇas*. The study of Itihāsa and Purāṇa has been rightly stressed as necessary for the correct interpretation of the Vedas.¹ The epics and the Purāṇas constitute an important source of the cultural history of India as they throw a flood of light on the various aspects of the life of the time. They occupy an intermediate position, broadly speaking, between the Vedic age and the period of classical literature. They have been influencing the life of the people throughout the centuries and are valuable as supplying materials for the critical study of such diverse subjects as religion and philosophy, folklore and ethnology, literature and sciences, history and geography, politics and sociology. Classical poets and dramatists are indebted to these for the themes and plots of their works. The *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas are regarded and style themselves as "the fifth Veda"² while the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the "*Ādi-Kāvya*". The hold of the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas on the everyday life of the Hindus even at the present time may be seen from the occurrence of the word श्रुतिस्मृति-पुराणेक्ष in the *Saṃkalpa* of almost every ritual, where स्मृति includes the *Mahābhārata*.

1. *Mbh* (Cr. Ed.) I,1. 204; (B), I,1.267-8:

इतिहासपुराणान्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।

बिभेत्पल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥

2. Cf. *Chāndogya Up.* vii.1.24: इतिहासपुराणः पञ्चमो वेदानाम् ।

Mbh (Cr. Ed.), I,57.74; (B), I,63.69:

also "*Kāṣṇaveda*" (*Mbh*, Cr. Ed., I,1.205; B, I,1.268); also

भारतं पञ्चमो वेदः ।

In the following pages we shall offer critical remarks by way of introduction to the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*.

Before dealing with the epics, let us first consider their origin.

Like everything Indian the origin of the epics has been sought to be traced to the Vedas. But scholars hold different views with regard to the portion of the *Rgveda* which is looked upon as the origin of the epics. Oldenberg styled the dialogue (*saṁvāda*) hymns in the *Rgveda* as *ākhyānas* and started a theory that the oldest form of epic poetry in India consisted of prose and verse, of which the latter containing speeches was fixed and committed to memory. The *saṁvādas* are the remnants containing dialogues, the prose portions being lost.³

The theory, however, was opposed by Max Müller and Lévi, who maintained that these hymns might be a kind of drama, and by Hertel and von Schröder who worked out a theory that the *saṁvāda* hymns were but the speeches belonging to some dramatic performance connected with the religious cult.⁴ Winternitz has found a *via media* in that he calls them "ancient ballads" and holds them to be the source both of the epic and the drama—the epic having developed from the narrative and the drama from the dramatic elements of the "ancient ballad."⁵

The *Gāthā-Nārāsaṁsis*, *Ākhyānas*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa*, etc. of the *Brāhmaṇas*, whose recital formed part of the religious ceremonies at the sacrificial and

3. Oldenberg, "Das altindische Ākhyāna", ZDMG, 37(1883), pp. 54 ff; "Ākhyānahymnen im Rgveda", ZDMG, 39(1885), pp. 52 ff; *Die Literatur des alten Indien*, p. 46.

4. Lévi, *Le Théâtre Indien*, pp. 301 ff. Hertel, *Indische Märchen*, pp. 344, 367 f. L. von Schröder, *Mysterium und Mimik im Rgveda*, Leipzig, 1908.

5. HIL, 1, pp. 102-3.

domestic festivals, however, supplied real parallelisms with epic poetry approaching it both in language and metre. These terms are variously used to designate different kinds of narrative or used synonymously. The *Mahābhārata* calls itself alternately as *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa*, *Kāvya* and *Ākhyāna* in the introductory portion.⁶

I. *Mahābhārata*

"Bhārata", according to Pāṇini, signifies "the battle of the Bharatas", so that the *Mahābhārata* means "the great narrative of the battle of the Bharatas" as stated by Winternitz.⁷ The epic itself explains the name as महत्वाद् भारवत्त्वाच्च महाभारतमुच्यते⁸—the work is called *Mahābhārata* on account of its greatness, enormity in size and weightiness, suggesting that it outweighs the Veda and other sacred literature of India. The reading for the stanza in some MSS as also in Kumārila is महत्वादभारतत्वात् (for महत्वाद् भारवत्त्वात्) meaning on account of its greatness and Indianness, it is called *Mahābhārata*. Sastri prefers the following stanza explaining the name *Mahābhārata*:

भारतानां महज्जन्म महाभारतमित्युत ।

निष्कृतमस्य यो वेद सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥⁹

"It is called *Mahābhārata* because in it is narrated the great life-history of the Bhāratas".

The Bhāratas, forming the subject of the *Mbh*, are mentioned as a warrior-tribe in the *Ṛgveda* with their habitat between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. The old heroic poem, dealing with the bloody family feud resulting in the overthrow of the Kauravas by the Pāṇḍavas, forms the nucleus of the *Mbh*.

6. Cf. *Mbh* (Cr. Ed.), I.1.15-19; (B), I.1.17-21.61, etc.

7. *HIL*, I, p. 317.

8. *Mbh* (Cr. Ed.), I.1.209; (B), I.1.274.

9. *Mbh* (Cr. Ed.), I.56.31; (B), I.62.39-40.

This nucleus assumed the present form of the *Mbh* by periodical additions of matter of different kinds including (i) legendary matter from the bardic repertoire having but a casual connection (or no connection) with the epic heroes; (ii) myths and legends of Brahmanical origin and didactic sections pertaining to Brahmanical philosophy, ethics and law stressing the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas; (iii) cosmological, genealogical and geographical matter in the nature of Purāṇas and local myths; (iv) myths of Viṣṇu and, later, of Śiva; (v) fables, parables, fairy tales and moral stories; (vi) ascetic poetry; and (vii) prose pieces and Brahmanical legends and moral tales, entirely or partly in prose. In contrast to Oldenberg who takes the prose matter as the earlier stages of the epic, Winternitz holds it to pertain to a later period.¹⁰

Of the additional matter in the nature of heroic legends may be mentioned the episodes of Śakuntalā, of Yayāti and of Nahuṣa, as also those of Nala and Damayanti, and of Rāma. The Brahmanical myths and legends are illustrated in the stories of Kadrū and Vinatā in the Sarpa-satra, of Cyavana, of Manu, of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, the Flood legend, the Sāvitrī episode, etc. The *Śānti* and *Anuśāsana* are a veritable thesaurus of religion and philosophy. It may be observed with regard to the additions to the original material that some of these may be as old as the original or even older. This, however, does not indicate that the epic was originally didactic.

The inclusion of this diverse matter, which has made the *Mbh* at once a Kāvya, Śāstra, Śruti, law, philosophy, etc. indicates the uniform popularity of the Great Epic through the ages and the anxiety of the compilers to make the *Mbh* an encyclopaedia for

10. Winternitz, *HIL*, I, p. 321 n1; Oldenberg, *Das Mahābhārata*, pp. 21 ff; cf. also *infra*, p. 83.

all time. The statement in the epic that whatever is (incorporated) here may be found elsewhere; (but) what is not (found) here cannot be got anywhere else, यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यत्रेहास्ति न तत्तद्वचित्¹¹ is no exaggeration, nor can the saying व्यासोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम् (Vyāsa has touched every subject under the sun) be challenged.

Winternitz interprets the introduction in the epic referring to three redactions of the epic as showing that the *Mbh* is not the work of any one author nor was it written down at one time. The *Mbh*, he says, is not a single book but a whole literature stretching in time along a vast period.¹²

Now let us consider the orthodox view as to the origin, authorship and growth of the *Mbh*.

According to the traditional view as represented in the *Mbh* itself Kṛṣṇa (also known as Dvaipāyana and Vyāsa), son of Parāśara and Satyavatī, was the author of the *Mbh*. Better known as Vyāsa, he is represented as a close relative of the heroes of the epic, being the procreator of the sons Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu on Vicitravīrya's childless widows Ambikā and Ambālikā by *niyoga*. After performing penance Vyāsa composed a *Bhārata* of 24,000 verses which, according to the learned, is the extent of the *Bhārata* excluding the *upākhyānas*. Then was appended a chapter comprising the contents of the various Parvans of the poem. Vyāsa taught this poem to his son Śuka and to other deserving and promising students.

Vyāsa produced another poem consisting of six million stanzas of which three million are sung among the Gods, a million and a half among the manes, one million and four lakhs among the Gandharvas, and one lakh among mankind. Nārada recited the poem

11. *Mbh* (Cr. Ed.), I.56.33; (B), I.62.53.

12. *HIL*, I, pp. 316, 326 f.

to the Gods, Devala to the manes, Śuka to the Gandharvas and demons, and Vaiśampāyana, pupil of Vyāsa, to the land of mortals.¹³

While Vyāsa was contemplating as to the best means of transmitting the poem to his disciples, Brahmā appeared and in response to Vyāsa's prayer, suggested Gaṇeśa as the scribe. Gaṇeśa agreed on condition that his pen did not cease writing for a moment. He further agreed to Vyāsa's request to cease to continue writing whenever he failed to comprehend anything. By way of diversion Vyāsa knit in the epic a number of Kūṭaslokas (riddles) to puzzle the divine scribe. The number of such ślokas is said to be 8800.¹⁴

Sūta (Sauti or Ugraśravas) heard the narration related by Vaiśampāyana to Janamejaya at the *Sarpa-satra*, and gave it out as the *Mahābhārata* to the sages assembled in the Naimiṣa forest during Śaunaka's sacrifice. The epic itself speaks of its three different beginnings in the following stanza:—

मन्वादि भारतं केचिदास्तीकादि तथापरे ।

तथोपरिचराद्यन्ये विप्राः सम्यग्धीयते ॥ 15

Thus there are these three beginnings of the *Mbh*:—

(i) *Manvādī*, i.e., from the very beginning of the extant *Mbh*, after the maṅgala-śloka नारायणं नमस्कृत्य etc. according to the Critical Edition, followed by the

13. *Mbh* (Cr. Ed.), 29,* p. 12; (B), I.1.105-6. This appears as an interpolation in the Critical Edition.

14. Brahmā-Gaṇeśa episode occurs as an interpolation in the Critical Edition. It is given in Appendix I, 1 (p. 884 f).

अष्टौ श्लोकसहस्राणि अष्टौ श्लोकशतानि च ।

अहं वेत्ति शुको वेत्ति सञ्जयो वेत्ति वा न वा ॥

occurs as an interpolation in a passage which itself is an interpolation (p. 884, ll. 15-16).

15. *Mbh* (Cr. Ed. and B), I.1.50.

conversation between Sauti (or Sūta, etc.) and the sages at Śaunaka's hermitage;¹⁶

(ii) *Āstikādi*, i.e., from the description of Janamejaya's *Sarpasatra*, where begins the *Āstikaparvan*;¹⁷ and

(iii) *Uparicarādi*, i.e., from the commencement of the actual narration of the history of the Bharatas, where begins the *Amśavatāraparvan*.¹⁸

These are the different beginnings of the *Mbh* as recited respectively by Sūta, Vaiśampāyana and Vyāsa. Thus, Sūta's narration begins from the first adhyāya itself, that of Vaiśampāyana from adhyāya 13, and that of Vyāsa from adhyāya 54 of the Critical Edition. These three are said to be the beginnings respectively of *Mahābhārata*, *Bhārata* and *Jaya*, and the extent of the *Bhārata* and the *Mahābhārata* is said to be 24,000 and 100,000. Macdonell and others take the extent of Vyāsa's work to be 8800.

European and American orientalist and many Indian scholars including M. Krishnamachariar, advocating the orthodox view, support the above account. C. V. Vaidya, however, regards 8800 as the number of Kūṭasloka (riddles) introduced by Sauti. He puts the date of the composition of Vyāsa's work soon after the Bhārata war in 3102 B.C. (according to his view), of Vaiśampāyana's redaction to about 1400-1200 B.C., and of Sūta's narration to about 250 B.C., and states that Vaiśampāyana and Sūta are "fictions... invented for magnifying the importance of the work."¹⁹

P. P. S. Sastri, however, does not agree with the above in some particulars. According to him, "We would rather accept the existing tradition which

16. *Mbh* (Cr. Ed. and B), I.1-12.

17. *Mbh*, (Cr. Ed.), I.13-53: (B), I.13-59.

18. *Mbh* (Cr. Ed.), I.54: (B), I.60.

19. *HSL*, I, iv, pp. 12-13.

makes Vaiśampāyana a direct pupil of Vyāsa, and Sūta, a son of Vaiśampāyana's contemporary Romaharṣaṇa, than indulge in super-criticism which tries to set at naught the internal evidence of the epic and the current tradition."²⁰ Whereas the *Mbh* of a lakh stanzas is taken to be the work of Sūta, Sastri emphatically states that "the whole work as we have it now in 18 Parvans is the work of a single author, Vyāsa, though... some preliminary chapters are... by Vaiśampāyana and Sūta."²¹ He offers quite a different interpretation of the stanza

चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रौ चक्रे भारतसंहिताम् ।

उपाख्यानैर्विना तावद् भारतं प्रोच्यते बुधैः ॥ ²²

which is taken as the basis for the view that the original *Bhārata* comprising 24,000 ślokas has been expanded to one of 100,000 ślokas by the addition of episodes, etc. According to Sastri, the above stanza simply states that the computation of the *Mbh* is 100,000 ślokas if counted along with minor narratives, and only 24,000 if these are excluded.²³ He states that whereas three kinds of beginnings of the *Mbh* are referred to by Sūta, both Sūta and Vaiśampāyana are quite agreed that the conclusion of the *Mbh* is with the *Svargārohaṇaparvan*.

Reference may be made here to quite a different explanation of the stanza मन्वादि भारतं केचिद् (quoted above), given by Madhva in his *Tātparyanirṇaya*, which M. Krishnamachariar calls "traditional". The explanation runs: "The meaning of the *Bhārata*, in so far as it is a relation of the facts and events of which Śrī Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas are connected, is called *Āstikādi* (historical). That interpretation by which we find lessons on Dharma, Bhakti and other Gods is

20. *Mahābhārata* (Southern Recension), II, Intr., p. xxi.

21. *loc. cit.* 22. *Mbh* (Cr. Ed.), I.1.61; (B), I.1.103.

23. *Mahābhārata* (Southern Recension), I, Intr., pp. x-xi.

called *Manvādi* (religious and moral). Thirdly, the interpretation by which every sentence, word or syllable is shown to be the significant name, or to be the declaration of the glories of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe is called *Auparicara* (transcendental).²⁴

This traditional account of the growth of the *Mbh* is not accepted by most of the foreign scholars. Western scholars were interested in the *Mahābhārata* studies for more than the last hundred and fifty years. Reference has been made to the views of several scholars which were published after 1917 on pp. 109-113, 126-143 of the present work. In order to understand properly the contribution of European scholars to the *Mahābhārata* studies it would be better if a chronological account is given, and in the following paragraphs an attempt is made in that direction.

The *Mahābhārata* was chiefly known to the Western scholars because of its connection with the *Bhagavadgītā* and the Śakuntalā episode, both of which were translated into English in 1758 and 1795 by Charles Wilkins. The text of the Nala-Damayantī Akhyāna, another episode from the *Mbh*, was published with a Latin translation in 1819 by Bopp, the father of the science of comparative philology. The history of the critical study of the *Mbh*, however, may be said to have begun with C. Lassen, who commenced his researches in 1837.²⁵ He considers the epic as recited by Śaunaka as a second recension of the poem. Assigning Āśvalāyana to 350 B.C. and assuming the identity of his Guru Śaunaka with the reciter of the epic, Lassen takes the date of the second recension of the epic to be 400-450 B.C. According to him the original epic was augmented thereafter by inter-

24. HCSL, pp. 29-30.

25. Ind. Alt., I pp. 576 ff, 733 ff; II, pp. 101 ff.

polations of a Kṛṣṇite nature alone; and the epic, excluding such accretions, may be regarded as pre-Buddhist.

A. Weber in 1852 and A. Ludwig in 1884 attempted to establish organic connection between the Vedic sources and the epic material.²⁶ Ludwig pressed into service the nature-myth, then universally in vogue, and stated that though the *Mbh* has the feeble historical germ, it is primarily an allegorical poem on the struggle between the sun and the darkness of the night. The capture of the Kurukṣetra by the Bharatas, the confederation of the five tribes, etc., constitute the historical kernel of the epic, on which the epic-poet constructed a superstructure embodying a seasonal myth. Sören Sörensen, who made the *Mahābhārata* his life's work and study, attempted a reconstruction of the epic in 1883.²⁷ According to him, the epic, in its oldest form, was a saga, and the creation of a single mind, which had no contradiction, repetition, digression. By eliminating additional matter Sörensen declared the original genuine epic to contain seven or eight thousand ślokas.

In order to explain the contradictions (such as the victory of the Pāṇḍavas through deceits or frauds, disregarding the rules of dharma-yuddha, deceits practised by Kṛṣṇa, etc.) found in the *Mbh*, Adolf Holtzmann started in 1884 the ingenious theory, later styled the inversion theory by Hopkins,—a theory which is more ingenious than convincing—according to which the Kauravas were the heroes of the original poem.²⁸ Changed circumstances resulted in repre-

26. Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 179ff; Ludwig, *Abhandlungen der kgl. böhmischen Ges. der Wiss.*, VI, 12, pp. 1 ff; *Sitzungber. BGW*, IX, pp. 15 ff.

27. *Om Mahābhārata's Stilling i den Indiske Literatur*. Kjøbenhavn, 1893.

28. *Über das alte indische Epos*. 1881; *Das Mahābhārata und seine Theile*. Kiel, 1892-1895.

senting Kauravas as the villains and glorifying Pāṇḍavas as the heroes. According to this theory all that exalts Kauravas at the expense of the Pāṇḍavas is old. Holtzmann offers the following historical reconstruction of his theory: of the original epic in honour of the Kauravas, of which Karna was the hero, a talented poet made a poem in praise of a great Buddhist ruler, perhaps Aśoka. The epic began with *Sabhā-parvan* and ended with the death of Duryodhana. The Śaivite elements are explained by the close relation of Śaivism with Buddhism of the period. Later, with the growth of Brahminism, the Brāhmaṇas subjected this Buddhistic *Mahābhārata* to a religious revision, used it as a weapon against the Buddhists, and reversed its original purpose. Pāṇḍavas are now lauded, Kṛṣṇa identified with Viṣṇu, and the Vaiṣṇava elements added. The third revision was of a Purāṇic type. Here Buddhism is eliminated altogether, Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa occupy the foreground, several elements of ancient Purāṇic material are incorporated and didactic material is interpolated. This revised and totally changed recension of the epic was non-existent until the twelfth century A.D.

L. von Schröder and Grierson have enunciated theories analogous to the "inversion" theory.²⁹ Schröder states that the original poem which belongs to a period between the seventh and the fourth centuries B.C. was composed by the bards of the Kurus who eulogised their tribal god Brahmā and deprecated Kṛṣṇa, the tribal hero of the neighbouring tribes. The downfall of the Kurus resulted in the supersession of the cult of Brahmā by the cult of Kṛṣṇa and the inversion of the original epic-poem. Grierson mentions the struggle for supremacy between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas as the principal motive

29. Schröder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*. Leipzig, 1887; Grierson, *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 837-44.

of some kind of inversion of the original epic. The Kauravas of Madhyadeśa, who supported the Brāhmaṇas, came into conflict with the unorthodox Pāñcāla-Pāṇḍavas.

Curiously enough, Holtzmann, Schröder and Grierson suggest different—and mutually contradictory—motives for the inversion of the epic, and this is a serious objection against the soundness of the hypothesis. There is, again, no external evidence in its support, the inferences being based on the epic itself. Bühler and Bhandarkar refuted Holtzmann's theory on the ground that inscriptional evidence conclusively proves the existence of the epic in its extant form centuries before A.D. 400. With regard to Schröder's theory Dandekar observes that a conflict between the cult of Brahmā and the cult of Kṛṣṇa is almost unknown in the religious history of India.³⁰ Keith has rightly assailed Grierson's theory by stating that Kuru-Pāñcālas were friendly in the past and there is no proof of the conflict between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas in the period of the *Brāhmaṇas*. In connection with the inversion theory, Held rightly concludes that "the entire inversion theory is simply an ingenious hypothesis that must be a proof of itself."³¹ Hopkins tries to account for the deceptive or contradictory elements in the epic, for which inversion theory is propounded, by stating that two different stages of culture are represented in the epic; the earlier age allowed what was condemned in the later age.³² J. Hertel resolves the contradiction on the ground that manuals about the conduct of princes permitted the use of artifice in cases of emergency.³³

Just about the time when Holtzmann's last volume was published, there appeared an important

30. UCR, XII, p. 73.

31. *Mahābhārata, An Ethnological Study*, pp. 10-11.

32. JAOS, XIII, pp. 57-372.

33. WZKM, XXIV, p. 421.

work by Joseph Dahlmann, champion of the synthetic school.³⁴ He holds that the *Mahābhārata* was the work of a single inspired poet who welded together the pre-existing narrative and didactic elements artistically with a view to popularising Dharmaśāstra among the masses. The feud between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas is not authentic but the contending parties represent personifications of Dharma and Adharma. This is, indeed, exaggerating an undoubtedly later aspect of the work. Its date, according to him, is not later than the fifth century B.C., i.e., pre-Buddhistic. He synchronises the whole epic with the state of culture represented by the Jātakas. Fick, however, disputes this and states that centuries must have elapsed between the culture as represented in the Jātakas and in the *Mahābhārata* and *Manusmṛti*.³⁵ After critically considering the views of several scholars about the *Mbh*, A. Barth concludes that the *Mbh* is an unmistakably uniform work. With regard to the unifying factor of the epic and didactic elements in the *Mbh*, S. Lévi seeks in some didactic teaching, a Kṣatriya manual based upon the moral code of the Brāhmaṇas, such as is found in the *Bhagavad-gītā*.³⁶ The central purpose of the poem being to rally together the Kṣatriyas in the service of Lord Kṛṣṇa, a Bhāgavata poet wove round the *Bhg* the epic tale of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas in order to glorify Kṛṣṇa and to convince the Kṣatriyas of the infallibility of the service of Kṛṣṇa.

H. Jacobi mainly treats the *Mbh* from a synthetic point of view, and regards that a team of dias-kuasts or Paurāṇikas appended the didactic matter all at one time to the older epical stuff, preserved by

34. *Das Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch*. Berlin, 1895; *Genesis des Mahābhārata*. Berlin, 1899.

35. *Die Soziale Gliederung im Nord-Ostlichen Indien zu Bud-dha's Zeit*, pp. 173, 4.

36. *BCV*, pp. 99-106; Eng. trans., *ABORI*, I, pp. 13-20.

the Sūtas. He lays down four different periods of the work: (1) the development of the story, (2) the origin of the epical poem, (3) the fixing of the epical corpus by the Sūtas, and (4) the incorporation of didactic parts.³⁷ He would assign the contents of the *Mbh* to a pre-Achaemedian period, though its present form, according to him, cannot possibly be later than the second or third century B.C.³⁸

The most detailed elaboration of the analytical method is to be found in Hopkins' *The Great Epic of India*, and as his views have found general acceptance among scholars, we shall briefly summarise them with regard to its origin, development and date. According to Hopkins, the origin of the Epic lay in the priestly hymns accompanying the annual cycle and in the songs in praise of the liberality of princes, the *nārā-śaṁsī-gāthā*. The development of the Epic in its present shape is thus shown by Hopkins:

"400 B.C. There is a collection of Bhārata lays, in which the Pāṇḍavas are yet unknown.

400-200 B.C. There springs up Mahābhārata tale, in which the Pāṇḍavas are the heroes, Kṛṣṇa is a demi-god.

300 B.C. to 100 or 200 A.D. Kṛṣṇa now becomes the all-God; Interpolations of a didactic nature: New Episodes added.

200-400 A.D. The introduction and later books are added."

Hopkins vouches for the absolute certainty of the following points:—"That the epic in its present form or even free from its didactic matter was composed or compiled after the invasion of Alexander; that all this didactic matter was inserted later on; that the *Mahābhārata* was not essentially a book of

37. GGA, 1899, p. 832.

38. NGGW, 1896, p. 13 n2.

Kṛṣṇaite belief until somewhere near the first century B.C.; that the epic was practically completed about 200 A.D.; that no date can be found to cover the entire Epic, although, broadly speaking, it can be said to have existed in the second century P.C."³⁹ He is at great pains to distinguish the different metrical strata preserved in the Epic and the metrical considerations occupy quite a preponderating part of his work. His conclusion is that on metrical ground it is "impossible to believe that the epic in its present form is older than the second century B.C."⁴⁰ Hopkins' conclusions are based on the vulgate, and in the light of the Critical Edition many of his conclusions, statistics, etc., will have to be revised and corrected.⁴¹

The story of the *Mahābhārata* is too well known to need any reference here.

With regard to the date of the *Mbh*, Winternitz concludes that "the *Mahābhārata* cannot have received its present form earlier than the 4th century B.C. and later than the 4th century A.D."⁴² There are numerous references to Buddhism and to the Yavanas in the present form of the epic which supply us with the upper limit, and the fact that classical authors like Bāṇa and Kumārila as also epigraphic records of the fifth century and after testify to the epic having assumed the form of a religious code gives us the lower limit.

Though diverse opinions are held as to the historicity of the Bhārata war, there appears to be no doubt as to the actual occurrence of the event. Various views as to the date of the Bhārata war have been referred to later on. The personal view of the present writer is that the Bhārata war was fought in c. 1400 B.C.⁴³

39. *GEI*, pp. 397-8.

40. *GEI*, p. 239.

41. *Cf. infra*, p. 83.

42. *HIL*, I, p. 465.

43. *Vedic Age*, p. 269; also *infra*, p. 79.

The views of Oldenberg, Pisani, Sukthankar, Dandekar, Held and others about the *Mahābhārata* have been referred to below (pp. 103-104, 109-113, 137-143). The most important theory about the growth of the *Mahābhārata* during the last twenty-five years is that by Sukthankar which shows the great rôle played by the Bhārgavas in the formative stages of the epic. Shende and Dandekar have further elaborated the theory.⁴⁴ It may be mentioned as a personal observation that the Bhārgava family appear in the heroic epic, apart from some episodal or didactic portions, more as humiliated opponents than as triumphant heroes. Pisani has made a critical and aesthetic study of the epic, and, according to Sukthankar, his views carried great weight.⁴⁵

Our examination of the critical enquiry of scholars about the different aspects of the *Mahābhārata* shows great diversity of views and differences on fundamental points. About Kṛṣṇa, the pivotal figure in the epic, Dahlmann considers him as belonging to the older portions of the poem, while according to Lévi Kṛṣṇa is the *persona sine qua non* of the entire epic. On the contrary, according to Winternitz, Kṛṣṇa did not figure at all in the original epic, but was introduced only later. Oldenberg, Jacobi, Eliot and others regard Kṛṣṇa as an intrusion on the original story.⁴⁶ Winternitz decides in favour of Śaivite features as old whereas Holtzmann would eliminate both Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite portions as interpolations of a purely sectarian character.

As will be seen from the different views stated on pp. 144-171 it is quite apparent that great diver-

44. *ABORI*, XXIV, pp. 67-82; *UCR*, XII, pp. 84-85.

45. *Festschrift Thomps.*, pp. 166-176. Sukthankar in personal conversation as well as in a note to me had particularly asked me to go through Pisani's article carefully.

46. Winternitz, *HIL*, I, p. 457; Oldenberg, *Das Mahābhārata*, pp. 37, 43.

gence of opinion prevails among scholars with regard to the *Bhagavad-gītā*. Scholars are naturally influenced by their view of Kṛṣṇa in this matter. While Lévi takes the *Bhagavad-gītā* as an integral part of the epic, Hopkins calls it an interpolation and goes to the length of stating that it is even "unnecessary to prove it."⁴⁷

In concluding this critical note on the *Mahābhārata* I cannot but agree with the view of Pisani that the approach to the *Mbh* should be with open eyes and with the mind used to Indian thought and without being hypercritical.⁴⁸ The observations of foreign scholars, including Winternitz and Hopkins, are vitiated by their applying alien canons and aesthetic standards to the *Mahābhārata*. A creative genius need not always be expected to be fettered by aesthetic standards. The didactic matter, to which exception has been taken on aesthetic grounds, is intended to fill temporal hiatuses in the *Āraṇyaka*, *Sānti* and *Anuśāsana*, and considered from this angle one feels admiration for the redactor of the *Mahābhārata* who found suitable places for the insertion of didactic material. This distribution does not disturb the course of narration. The entire *Mahābhārata*, considered in this light, appears an organic whole, executed according to a well-conceived plan.

Finally, it is worth noting that the credit of publishing the first translation of the Critical Edition in any language goes to Russia, the Russian Academy having recently published the translation of the *Ādi-parvan*.⁴⁹

II. *Rāmāyaṇa*

The *Rām*, like the *Mbh*, has been deeply influencing the religious and moral thought of India as well

47. JAOS, XIII, p. 204.

48. Fest. Thomas, p. 170.

49. Prospectus of the *Mbh*, BORI, Poona, 1951, p. 20.

as the literary production for over two thousand years, and has moulded the lives of countless generations in India. Both exhibit several features of similarity and difference. Being handed down orally from the earliest times both epics have undergone tremendous changes throughout their long career, and cannot lay claim to any definitive text. The same phenomena operated in the text-transmission of both, so that the method followed for the constitution of the critical text of the *Mbh* can be applied with but minor changes for the preparation of the Critical Edition of the *Rām*. Like the *Mbh*, the *Rām* is the property of the whole Indian people and the daily recitation of a śloka, a line, or even a quarter from either is said to confer religious merit on the reciter. Both epics abound in numerous Brahmanical myths and legends which frequently interrupt the thread of the narrative. There is a close resemblance not only in style, expression and descriptions as exemplified by parallel passages, identical similes and descriptions, but also in the mythology and philosophy of the epics. The economic conditions and social usages represented in the two epics are sufficiently alike, showing but few discordant elements.⁵⁰ Neither was recognised as epic before the late period of the *Gṛhyasūtras*, and neither was developed quite independently of the other. The *Uttarakāṇḍa*, which constitutes the latest part of the *Rām*, contains many tales of the Gangetic plains, and later didactic portions of the *Mbh* are generally laid in Kosala and Magadha, so that in their later development the epics grew up in the same locality.

While the *Mbh* represents a mixture of popular epic and theological didactic poetry, the *Rām* is a popular epic and ornate poetry at the same time. The *Rām* is much shorter, having the extent of nearly a

50. Cf. Hopkins, *CHI*, I, p. 259.

quarter of the present *Mbh*, and is still a fairly unified epic poem in its extant form. Unlike the *Mbh*, which speaks of its three editions, the *Rām* has no statement about its amplifications or revisions. Whereas the authorship of the *Mbh* is in dispute, it being ascribed to several authors, Vālmīki is practically accepted as the author of the *Rām*. What the *Mbh* is for the Aryan kingdoms of the West, the *Rām* is for those of the East. In the *Rām* is reflected a greater simplicity of life among the Aryans, and it shows absence of acquaintance with the Mlecchas, meagreness of reference to advanced states, absence of elaborate military tactics in the form of the vyūhas, existence of small kingdoms, abundance of forests and forest life in the country. The *Mbh*, though showing considerable advance in civilisation over the Rāmāyaṇic period in war, diplomacy, and in various phases of society, displays some archaic features such as polyandry and *niyoga*, and belongs to a ruder, more warlike age. The nucleus of the *Mbh* creates a much more archaic impression than the *Rām*. If the *Mbh* emphasises the practical aspects of life, the *Rām* preaches the highest ideals of it. The *Mbh* owes its sacred character not so much to its heroes as to the didactic sections added to it later, while it is the inherent purity of its hero and heroine that give sanctity to the *Rām*. The characters in the former strike us as human beings while those in the latter appear to be idealised.

With these prefatory remarks about the common and contrasting features of the two epics, let us turn to the study of the *Rām*. Macdonell rightly remarks that probably no work of world literature, secular in its origin, has ever produced so profound an influence on the life and thought of the people as the *Rām*.⁵¹ Tradition ascribes the authorship of the *Rām* to Vāl-

miki, the *ādikavi*, also known as Bhārgava and Prācetasā, who had his hermitage on the banks of the Gaṅgā. Tenth in descent from Pracetas, he is also represented as Cyavanaputra. Originally known as Ratnākara, Vālmiki has narrated his past history in the *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa*, describing how he was transformed into a devotee from a robber. According to the Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rām*, Vālmiki wrote the main story and Bhārgava added the episodes at a subsequent period.⁵² The story of how the poet's lament (*śoka*) on seeing a hunter killing the male krauñca bird was turned into a stanza (*śloka*) is graphically described in the introductory part of the *Rām*. Vālmiki is highly praised for his excellence of thought and expression, and throughout the length and breadth of India, from the peasant's hut to the lord's parlour the story of Rāma is familiar and is listened to with devotion and pleasure. Truly prophetic were the words of Brahmā who assured Vālmiki that

"As long as in this firm-set land
The streams shall flow, the mountains stand,
So long throughout the world, be sure,
The great Rāmāyaṇ shall endure."⁵³

There is hardly any devout Hindu who doubts Vālmiki's words

"Whoe'er this noble poem reads
That tells the tale of Rāma's deeds,
Good as the scriptures, he shall be
From every sin and blemish free.
Whoever reads the saving strain,
With all his kin the heavens shall gain."⁵⁴

52. *Rām* (NSP), VII.94-25. H. P. Sastri, *Des. Cat. of Skt MSS*, A.S.B. V, Intr, p. xii.

53. *Rām* (NSP), I.236-7. Trans. by R. T. H. Griffith.

54. *Rām* (NSP), I.198-99. Trans. by R. T. H. Griffith.

According to tradition the number of verses in the *Rām* is 24000 divided into 500 sargas or chapters, each thousand verses beginning with a letter of the Gāyatri-mantra. In its present form, the *Rām* comprises seven books. Like the *Mbh*, the *Rām* has not come down to us in its original form, Book VII and most of Book I being later additions to the main epic in Books II-VI. The later portion not only displays difference in language and style, but contains matter which has but very slight connection with the main story; shows Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu whereas he is a mortal hero in the genuine epic; and gives premier position to Viṣṇu in place of the Vedic Indra who occupies the place of honour in the genuine sections.

Interpolations, alterations, etc. account for the different versions of the *Rām*, which has come down to us in three recensions, (i) northern and southern, (ii) north-western, and (iii) eastern, which differ very widely among themselves to the extent that about a third of the verses contained in each do not occur in the other two. It is thus very difficult to speak of the original text of the *Rām*. These variations are no doubt due to the divergent forms the popular tradition had assumed in different regions of India by the time the three recensions came to be written down. The Vishveshwarananda Vedic Research Institute of Hoshiarpur has brought out the critical edition of the North-Western recension, and the M. S. University of Baroda has undertaken the preparation of the critical edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the lines of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. Gorrossio had brought out the Eastern or Bengal recension, but from the *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal* it appears that there were several versions of the Bengal recension.⁵⁵

The story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is too well known to need any reference here.

Several scholars who made valuable contributions to the *Mbh* studies, such as Jacobi, Ludwig, Dahlmann, Hopkins, Lévi, Vaidya, Sukthankar, etc. have enriched the field of studies in the other epic as well. The *Rām* studies may be said to have been inaugurated by Lassen who discussed the problems of the *Rām* and pointed to the development of the *Rāma* story into four stages, suggesting that the *Rām* was an allegorical representation of the Aryan conquest of the south. According to Lassen, the first construction of the poem did not carry the narrative beyond the banishment of *Rāma* to the *Himālaya* and the circumstances which caused his wife *Sitā* and his brother *Lakṣmaṇa* to follow him into exile. The second changed the place of banishment to the *Godāvarī*, and described the protection afforded to the hermits against the attacks of the aborigines. The third embraced the account of the first attempts to subdue the inhabitants of the *Deccan*. The fourth amplification, which resulted from the knowledge gained by the Hindus of the island of *Ceylon*, included the description of *Rāma's* expedition against *Lankā*.⁵⁶ Lassen was followed by Weber, Muir, Freiderich and Monier Williams. Weber was the first to discuss in a comprehensive manner all the problems of the *Rām*, though his work has suffered oblivion on account of his unpopular and wrong theory of *Vālmiki's* indebtedness to *Homer*, which was rightly refuted by Telang, Jacobi, Hopkins, Vaidya and others. Weber regards the *Rām* to have been composed to account for the spread of the Aryan culture to the south and to *Ceylon*.⁵⁷ His critical remarks on the *Rām MSS* will be of help to critical editors of the epic.⁵⁸ Jacobi's

56. *Ind. Alt.*, I. p. 505. 57. *Über das Rāmāyana*, ABA, 1870.

58. *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, I. pp. 118-123.

Das Rāmāyaṇa,⁵⁹ however, contains the most systematic treatment of the subject. It discusses several problems such as the genesis of the different recensions of the *Rām* and their relation to one another; interpolations; origin and development of the *Rām*; Buddhist and Greek influence; and the age, language, poetic art and the saga of the *Rām*. There is also a summary of the contents of the Bombay edition (Southern recension) and the concordance of the Bombay and Bengal editions. According to Jacobi, the *Rām* originally comprised only five books (II-VI), the seventh book is a later addition at the end, and the first book is similarly added at the beginning. Though the interpolations are but loosely connected with the original body they are pervaded by the same spirit as the old part and hence Jacobi does not regard them as due to a Brāhmaṇa revision intended to transform the original Kṣatriya epic. Though these additions were effected before the different recensions arose, the transformation of the original tribal hero into the national hero and his identification with God Viṣṇu indicate the passage of a considerable time between the composition of the original poem and that of the additional matter.

In *Die Westliche Rezension des Rāmāyaṇa*,⁶⁰ H. Wirtz, the pupil of Jacobi, pointed out the peculiarities of the western recension on the basis of a Gujarat MS written during the reign of Viśaladeva. In the same year (1894), was published Alexander Baumgartner's *Das Rāmāyaṇa und die Rāma Literatur der Indier*⁶¹ discussing the development of the Rāma story and the Rāma literature in several Indian languages, in addition to the problems of the *Rām*. Next came the discussion of the problem of the inter-relation of the two epics by Ludwig and Dahlmann, whose con-

59. Bonn, 1893.

60. Bonn, 1894.

61. Freiburg, 1894.

tributions to the Great Epic have already been referred to above.

The turn of the century saw the appearance of Hopkins' magnum opus, *The Great Epic of India*,⁶² which deals, inter alia, with the relation of the *Rām* and the *Mbh*, and other problems connected with the *Rām*. *The Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa*⁶³ written by Bhāratācārya C. V. Vaidya is a very valuable contribution to the *Rām* studies. In a learned article on the history of the *Rām* where the various works which copy the Digvarṇana of the *Rām* (IV.41 ff) are critically studied, Lévi shows that the North-Western recension, as distinct from the Bengal recension, was in existence already in the sixth century A.D.⁶⁴ Books and articles on the *Rām* published subsequent to 1917 have been dealt with in the following pages (174-195), and particular reference, in connection with the *Rām* studies, may be made to D. C. Sen, Oldenberg, Winternitz, Maharastrīya, Ruben, Śluszkiewicz, Sukthankar and Bulcke.

In connection with the age of the *Rām*, we can do nothing better than quote Winternitz who thus summarises the results of his investigations:—

"1. The later parts of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, especially Books I and VII, are separated from the genuine *Rāmāyaṇa* of Books II to VI by a long interval of time.

2. The whole *Rāmāyaṇa*, including the later portions, was already an old and famous work when the *Mahābhārata* had not yet attained its present form.

3. It is probable that the *Rāmāyaṇa* had its present extent and contents as early as towards the close of the second century A.D.

62. New York, 1901.

63. Bombay, 1906.

64. JA, 1918, pp. 1-160.

4. The older nucleus of the Mahābhārata, however, is probably older than the ancient Rāmāyaṇa.

5. In the Veda we find no trace of the Rāma epic and only very faint traces of the Rāma legend.

6. The ancient Buddhist texts of the Tipiṭaka betray no knowledge of the Rāmāyaṇa, but contain traces of ballads in which the Rāma legend was sung.

7. There are no obvious traces of Buddhism to be seen in the Rāmāyaṇa but the characterisation of Rāma may possibly be traceable to remote Buddhist influence.

8. There can be no question of Greek influence in the Rāmāyaṇa, and the genuine Rāmāyaṇa betrays no acquaintance with the Greeks.

9. *It is probable that the original Rāmāyaṇa was composed in the third century B.C. by Vālmiki on the basis of ancient ballads.*⁶⁵

The Rām, in its historical setting, represents the expansion of the Aryan culture over the Deccan and South India. It shows that there was a very close co-operation and harmony, and not discord, between the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya in effecting the Aryo-Dravidian cultural synthesis. The spread of the Aryo-Dravidian culture into the south originated from Kosala and Ayodhyā under the leadership of Rāma. The Aryan conquerors, being few, would have been speedily absorbed had the Brāhmaṇas not come. The Brāhmaṇa brought with him the Aryan civilisation and traditions and introduced the caste system. Brāhmaṇa missionaries paved the way; they accompanied the conquerors; converted Dravidian potentates and enabled them to intermarry with high-born Aryans. The Aryan spirit was kept alive by the Brāhmaṇa. With all this, however, without the protection of the Kṣatriya the Brāhmaṇa was powerless; and it was not

65. *HIL*, I, pp. 474-5.

Brāhmaṇa's "peaceful penetration" but the military exploits of the Kṣatriya that enthralled the popular imagination.⁶⁶

That the Dravidians or non-Aryans enjoyed a high state of material civilisation is evident from the *Rām*. It throws light on the methods employed by the Aryans against their rivals. They set up one non-Aryan chief against another, and were not always scrupulous in their methods of warfare.

The *Rām* brings out the strength and weakness of the Aryan character. The superiority of the Aryans lay in the sternness of their character, their spirit of sacrifice, supreme regard for truth, love of adventure, and perseverance. Rāma is the embodiment of the high ideals of Aryan life. In him is presented the strange combination of a faithful and dutiful son, an affectionate brother, a loving husband, a stern relentless hero and an ideal king. Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata represent ideal brothers, while Sītā is a dutiful wife. In Daśaratha is brought out the weakness of the male for feminine grace which resulted in great disaster to him and to the kingdom. Prevalence of polygamy, and certain superstitious practices, evil effects of the caste system are some of the weak spots of Aryan life hinted at in the *Rām*.

III. *Purāṇas*

I. *Introduction:*

The *Purāṇas* occupy a unique position in the sacred and secular literature of the Hindus, being regarded as next in importance only to the *Vedas*. In fact, they are said to be, like the *Mahābhārata*, the fifth *Veda*, the *Veda* of the laity. They claim for themselves an equal antiquity and sanctity with the *Vedas*. They are closely akin to the *Epics* and the

66. Cf. J. Kennedy, *JRAS*, 1915, p. 516.

Smṛtis both in form and substance. The Purāṇas are of inestimable value for the history of philosophy and religion, and are a veritable store-house for getting insight into all aspects and phases of Hinduism. Not a single Purāṇa can be found to contain all these particulars; however, "taken collectively, they may be described as a popular encyclopaedia of ancient and medieval Hinduism, religious, philosophical, historical, personal, social and political".⁶⁷

2. *Purāṇa: meaning, definition and characteristics:*

The term Purāṇa, according to its etymology as given in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, means "that which lives from ancient times";⁶⁸ the *Matsya* also describes the Purāṇas as "containing records of past events".⁶⁹ Originally, therefore, the term signified "ancient tale" or "old narrative" in the Brāhmaṇa literature, as compared with *Itihāsa* and *Nārāyaṇī*, before it became associated with Purāṇa as a class of literature. Purāṇas in the form of legendary lore existed from times of antiquity, even prior to the revelation of the Vedas, and this was handed down to posterity. There was no Purāṇa literature as such in those days of yore.

Though references in the *Atharvaveda* imply that the Purāṇa had assumed some independent form of composition, it is not definite whether Purāṇas meant actual books at the time of the *Atharvaveda*.⁷⁰ The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* shows that a definite work was

67. Pargiter, *ERE*, X, p. 448.

68. *Vāyu*, L203: यस्मात्पुरा ह्यनतीदं पुराणं तेन हि स्मृतम् ।

निरुक्तमस्य यो वेद सर्वपापैः प्रमृच्यते ॥

69. *Matsya*, 53.63: पुरातनस्य कल्पस्य पुराणानि विदुर्बुधाः ॥

70. *Atharvaveda*, XI.7.24: ऋचः सामानि छन्दांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह ।

उच्छिष्टाज्जज्ञिरे सर्वे दिवि देवा दिविश्रितः ॥

intended by the term.⁷¹ It is in the Sūtras, however, that we find reference to the existence of real Purāṇas.

Both *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* denoted history and both are mentioned together in Vedic literature, sometimes as separate words and sometimes as one compound word, but almost always associated with *Gāthās*, *Nārāyaṇīs*, *Vākovākyas*, etc., which were all subjects of study in ancient times. In the later Vedic Age, *Itihāsa* preponderated over *Purāṇa*, but gradually the latter asserted itself. The characteristics of the Purāṇas have been mentioned in the classical definition of the term by Amarasimha (fifth century A.D.), which is also found in some Purāṇas, as *Pañcalakṣaṇa*, i.e., having five characteristics, which are, *sarga* (creation), *pratisarga* (dissolution and re-creation), *vaṁśa* (divine genealogies), *manvantara* (ages of Manus) and *vaṁśyānucarita* (genealogies of kings).⁷² A variant reading has *bhūmyādeḥ saṁsthāna* (world geography) in place of *vaṁśyānucarita*.

None of the existing Purāṇas is in complete agreement with this definition; some contain much more than these, while others scarcely touch these and deal with other topics. It is further found that *Pañcalakṣaṇa* occupies but an insignificant part (about 1/40) of the extant Purāṇas. Thus it appears that religious instruction was not one of their primary aims, nor were they originally composed for sectarian purposes. These and other later additions such as *dāna* (gifts), *vratas* (religious observances), *tīrthas* (sacred places), *śrāddha* (rites in honour of the manes), etc., which

71. *Chāndogya Up.*, VII.1.2: स होवाच ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणम् । चतुर्थमितिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदमिति ।

72. सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंश्यानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

form the bulk of the contents of the extant Purāṇas and which are not covered by the definition, render the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* definition merely a theoretical thing, not an actual fact. In order to get over this difficulty the Purāṇas themselves stated that the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* definition was intended merely for the *Upa-Purāṇa* (minor Purāṇa) and the *Mahā-Purāṇa* (major Purāṇa) has to satisfy the *Daśalakṣaṇa* (having ten characteristics) definition, which includes these additional topics: *ṛtti* (means of livelihood), *rakṣā* (incarnations of gods), *mukti* (final emancipation), *hetu* (jīva, unmanifest), and *apāśraya* (Brahman).⁷³ These characteristics also leave out of account several of the features of the extant Purāṇas. Haraprasad Sastri has found in the *Matsya*, an advance over this definition, which may be said to be the nearest approach to the description of the Purāṇas. It says that besides the ten characteristics, the Purāṇas deal with the glorification of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Rudra, as also with the dissolution and preservation of the world, and with *dharma* (righteous conduct), *artha* (economics and polity), *kāma* (erotics) and *mokṣa* (emancipation).⁷⁴

73. *Bhāgavata*, XI. 7.9-10.

सर्गोऽस्याथ विसर्गश्च वृत्ती रजान्तराणि च ।

वंशो वंश्यानुचरितं संस्था हेतुर्गपाश्रयः ॥

दशभिर्लक्षणैर्युक्तं पुराणं तद्विदो विदुः ।

केचित्पञ्चविधं ब्रह्मन् महदत्यव्यवस्थया ॥

According to MM. H.P. Sastri, these ten characteristics are: creation, details of creation, duties of sentient beings, protection of devotees, ages of Manu, dynasties of kings and ṛṣis, career of individuals, dissolution of the world, cause of creation, and Brahmā. *Des. Cat. of Skt. MSS A.S.B.*, V, Intr., p. cxxvii

74. *Matsya*, 53. 66-7: ब्रह्मविष्णवर्कन्दर्पाणां माहात्म्यं भूवनस्य च ।

समंसारप्रदानां च पुराणे पञ्चवर्णके ॥

धर्मदेवार्थश्च कामश्च मोक्षश्चैवान्न कीर्त्यते ।

सर्वेष्वपि पुराणेषु तद्विद्वद्भ्यो च यत्फलम् ॥

Even this comprehensive definition does not cover the entire ground traversed by the Purāṇas. The Purāṇa tradition, like that of the *Mahābhārata*, has all along been floating and dynamic, and the texts have been subjected to numerous revisions, additions, omissions and modifications. The only characteristic of a Purāṇa is that it should be old. "Anything old may be the subject of a Purāṇa", observes Haraprasad Sastri, "and it covers all the aspects of life".⁷⁵

3. *Purāṇas: their number and classification:*

There are eighteen Mahā-Purāṇas and eighteen Upa-Purāṇas according to the traditional view. The list of the Mahā-Purāṇas is given in almost all Purāṇas, mostly in the same order, and it is uniform, except for a couple of changes. The list runs: Brahma, Padma, Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Bhāgavata, Nāradiya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Agni, Bhaviṣya, Brahmavaivarta, Varāha, Līṅga, Skanda, Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuḍa and Brahmāṇḍa.⁷⁶ Some Purāṇas read Śiva in place of Vāyu, and *Devī-Bhāgavata* instead of (Vaiṣṇava) *Bhāgavata*. Pusalker has shown that the Śiva is not a Mahā-Purāṇa.⁷⁷ However, in order to accommodate these conflicting views, Pargiter takes their number to be 19, by including both the Śiva and Vāyu,⁷⁸ and Farquhar further increases the number by including the *Harivaṁśa* in addition.⁷⁹ But there is absolutely no support for increasing the traditional number.

There is no uniformity in the enumeration of the Upa-Purāṇas, which, unfortunately, have been com-

75. JBORS, XIV, p. 329.

76. cf. *Devī-Bhāgavata*, I.3, which enumerates the Purāṇas in a nutshell in the following couplet:

मद्रयं मद्रयं चैव त्रयं वचतुष्टयम् ।

नालिकाग्निपुराणानि कृ स्कं गारुडमेव च ॥

77. JUB, X, pp. 148-155; *infra*, pp. 31-41.

78. ERE, X, p. 448.

79. ORLI, p. 139.

paratively neglected so far. The Upa-Purāṇas are more sectarian in character, are comparatively late and of composite nature. There is very little of historical value in the Upa-Purāṇas. From a collation of the lists at different places, the following appear to be the eighteen Upa-Purāṇas: *Sanātkumāra*, *Narasimha*, *Nanda*, *Sivadharmā*, *Durvāsa*, *Nārādīya*, *Kapilā*, *Vāmana*, *Uśanas*, *Mānava*, *Varuṇa*, *Kali*, *Maheśvara*, *Sāmba*, *Saura*, *Parāśara*, *Marica* and *Bhārgava*. Hazra has collected the names of about a hundred Upa-Purāṇas,⁸⁰ of which hardly fifteen have appeared in print.

The Purāṇas can also be classified into ancient and later, according as they conform strictly to the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* definition or not. The less the number of additions which are foreign to the nature of the Purāṇas as defined by the *Amarakośa*, the older the Purāṇa. Judging from this test, we may pronounce the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Matsya* and *Viṣṇu* as the ancient Purāṇas.

The Mahā-Purāṇas have further been sub-divided according to their preferential treatment to Viṣṇu, Śiva and other deities, and they are respectively styled *Sāttvika*, *Tāmasa* and *Rājasa*, evidently from the Vaiṣṇava standpoint. Thus, the *Padma* distribution is as under:—⁸¹

(i) *Sāttvika* — *Viṣṇu*, *Nārādīya*, *Bhāgavata*, *Garuda*, *Padma* and *Varāha*;

80. *ABORI*, XXI, p. 49n. 81. *Padma*, *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, 263, 81-84:

मात्स्यं कौर्मं तथा लैङ्गं शैवं स्कान्दं तथैव च ॥

आग्नेयं च पद्मेतानि तामसानि निबोध मे ।

वेण्वं नारदीयं च तथा भागवतं शुभम् ॥

गारुडं च तथा पाद्यं वाराहं शुभदर्शने ।

सात्त्विकानि पुराणानि विज्ञेयानि शुभानि वै ॥

ब्रह्माण्डं ब्रह्मवैवर्तं मार्कण्डेयं तथैव च ।

भविष्यं वामनं ब्राह्मणं रावसानि निबोध मे ॥

- (ii) *Tāmasa* — *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, *Līṅga*, *Śiva*,
Agni, and *Skanda*;
 (iii) *Rājasa* — *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Brahmavaivarta*,
Mārkaṇḍeya, *Brahma*, *Vāmana*,
 and *Bhaviṣya*.

The *Skanda* enumerates ten *Purāṇas* as describing the greatness of *Śiva*, four of *Brahmā* and two each of *Devi* and *Hari*.⁸² The *Matsya* regards the *Purāṇa* glorifying *Agni* as *Rājasa*, and those that glorify the *Sarasvatī* and *Pitṛs* (Manes) as *Saṁkīrṇa*.⁸³

Basing his division on later *Tamil* works, *Dikshitar* classifies the *Purāṇas* into five groups as under:⁸⁴

- (i) *Brahmā* — *Brahma* and *Padma*;
 (ii) *Sūrya* — *Brahmavaivarta*;
 (iii) *Agni* — *Agni*;
 (iv) *Śiva* — *Śiva*, *Skanda*, *Līṅga*, *Kūrma*,
Vāmana, *Varāha*, *Bhaviṣya*,
Matsya, *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Brahmāṇḍa*; and
 (v) *Viṣṇu* — *Nārada*, *Bhāgavata*, *Garuḍa*
 and *Viṣṇu*.

The most satisfactory grouping, however, has been attempted by *Haraprasad Sastri*, on a thorough

82. *Skanda*, *Kedārakhaṇḍa*, 1:

अष्टादशपुराणेषु दशनिर्णीयते शिवः ।

चतुर्भिर्भगवान् ब्रह्मा द्वाभ्यां देवी तथा हरिः ॥

83. *Matsya*, 53. 68-69:

सात्त्विकेषु पुराणेषु माहात्म्यमधिकं हरेः ।

राजसेषु च माहात्म्यमधिकं ब्रह्मणो विदुः ॥

तद्वदग्नेश्च माहात्म्यं तामसेषु शिवस्य च ।

संकीर्णेषु सरस्वत्याः पितृणां च निगद्यते ॥

84. *IHQ*, VIII, p. 765.

and critical examination of the contents of the Purāṇas. He divides them into six groups in accordance with their subject-matter.⁸⁵

(i) The first group is the so-called encyclopaedias of literature, comprising the *Garuḍa*, *Agni* and *Nārada*. These contain the abstracts of all the great works in Arts and Sciences in Sanskrit Literature. These deal, in addition to the usual Purāṇic material, with medicine, grammar, dramaturgy, music, astrology, etc.

(ii) The next group, which includes the *Padma*, *Skanda* and *Bhaviṣya*, mainly deals with *tīrthas* and *vratas*. The original matter in these Purāṇas has been lost out of recognition on account of various revisions of a drastic nature.

(iii) The Purāṇas, that underwent two general revisions which are apparent, form the third group, and comprise the *Brahma*, *Bhāgavata* and *Brahma-vaivarta*. In these Purāṇas, the original part is the kernel or the central portion, which has been added to twice — at both ends on each occasion.

(iv) The fourth group, called historical, comprises the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the lost *Vāyu*. Haraprasad Sastri holds that excepting for a portion of the second part preserved in a manuscript, the genuine *Vāyu* is lost;⁸⁶ the present *Vāyu* may be merged in the *Brahmāṇḍa*.

(v) Sectarian works form the fifth group which consists of the *Liṅga*, *Vāmana* and *Mārkaṇḍeya*. The *Liṅga* deals with *Liṅga Pūjā* (worship of *Liṅga* as an emblem of Śiva), while the *Vāmana* is a handbook of Śaiva sects according to Haraprasad Sastri. The *Mārkaṇḍeya* deals with *Devī*.

(vi) Finally, old Purāṇas revised out of existence is the sixth group, including the *Varāha*, *Kūrma*, and

85. JBORS, XIV, pp. 330-7.

86. Ibid, p. 336.

Matsya. One naturally expects these entire works to have been spoken by these various incarnations of Viṣṇu; but actually, Varāha speaks only about a half of the *Varāha Purāṇa*; Matsya, only a third of the *Matsya*; and Kūrma, only an eighth of the *Kūrma*.

4. *Purāṇas: Origin and Development:*

The *Purāṇas* contain different accounts of their origin. According to the Viṣṇu, after dividing the Veda and entrusting it to his four disciples, Vyāsa compiled a *Purāṇa-Saṁhitā* with tales, anecdotes, songs and ancient lore,⁸⁷ and taught it to his fifth disciple, Sūta Lomahaṛṣaṇa (or Ro-), who divided that *Purāṇa* into six versions and taught them to his disciples, three of whom each made a further collection. The six-fold *Purāṇa* of Sūta is known as Romahaṛṣaṇic collection, and the collections of his disciples are named after them, as Kāśyapika, Sāvarnika, and Śāṁśa-pāyanika. These four were regarded as the "root-*saṁhitās*". None of these is in existence at present. Sūta had a son named Ugraśravas and he taught a *saṁhitā* to him also. The Viṣṇu thus accounts for four root-*saṁhitās* of the original *Purāṇa*.

The *Vāyu* says that the *Purāṇas* were compiled by Brahmā before the Vedas were revealed to him,⁸⁸ and the task of their preservation was given to the Sūtas. The original Sūta was born mystically out of the first sacrifice and was entrusted with preserving the tradition. This Sūta is a holy and venerable Brāhmaṇa, quite distinct from the Sūta of the Dharma-śāstras, born of *pratiloma* wedlock between a Brāhmaṇa maiden and a Kṣatriya male, as also from

87. Viṣṇu, III. 6.15: आख्यानंश्चाप्यपाख्यानंर्गाथाभिः कल्पशुद्धिभिः ।
पुराणसंहितां चक्रे पुराणार्थविशारदः ॥

88. Vāyu, I. 60-61: पुराणं सर्वज्ञास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ॥
अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिर्गताः ।

the residents of Magadha who were Sūtas. Many a scholar has taken the Sūta of the Purāṇas to be a non-Brāhmaṇa, which is evidently a mistake.⁸⁹

Haraprasad Sastri says that in the only genuine portion of the *Vāyu* (referred to earlier) the number of the Purāṇas is given as ten, so that this represents, according to him, the next stage in the development of the Purāṇas, when their number was raised from four as given in the *Viṣṇu*, to ten. He states that the traditional number eighteen is the final stage.⁹⁰

B. C. Mazumdar holds that there was a separate Purāṇa for each Vedic school as there were separate Brāhmaṇas, Anukramaṇis, Upaniṣads, etc.; and regards the *Agni*, *Vāyu* and *Sūrya* to be such original Purāṇas connected respectively with the *Rg*-, *Yajus*-, and *Sāma-vedas*.⁹¹

On account of the use of the word Purāṇa in singular in the passages of the *Atharvaveda*, identity of language in the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas and the traditional account of there being a single Purāṇa at the beginning, Jackson and others believe that there was only one Purāṇa in the beginning.⁹² But the singular number has been used collectively to designate the group of *Purāṇa-Saṃhitā*. Again, different Purāṇas commence with different princes, and with different periods, and are the products of different places. Hence, there was no original single Purāṇa, in the same way as there is no original single Veda or single Brāhmaṇa.

Tracing the genesis and development of the legendary lore from the earliest times to the period

89. *Vāyu*, 33.35; 62.147. Dikshitar *IHQ*, VIII, p. 759 f; contra Pargiter, *AIHT*, pp. 15-18; Rapson, *CHI*, I, p. 297; Winternitz, *HIL*, I, p. 528.

90. *Des. Cat. of Mss. ASB*, V, Intr., pp. lxxxiv, lxxxix.

91. *ASJ Comm.* Vol., *Orientalia*, 2, p. 13 f.

92. *JBBRAS*, Centenary Mem. No., pp. 67-77.

when the Purāṇas attained the status of eighteen Mahā-Purāṇas, it appears that up to the period of the *Atharvaveda*, the Purāṇas signified only tales of old, and were allied with *Itihāsa*, *Gāhās*, *Nārāyaṇīs*, etc. It is doubtful whether the term then conveyed any class of Purāṇa literature. The Purāṇas in the Vedic Age were compiled by the Sūta from the Vedic *Varṇa*, *Ākhyāna*, etc. The Bhārata war was an important landmark in the development of the Purāṇas because their canon was fixed some four generations after the Bhārata war and the genealogical accounts subsequent to this period were designated as 'future' in the Purāṇas. The next stage may be found in the Upaniṣadic period when chapters on cosmogony, which incorporate the Sāṃkhya and Upaniṣadic ideas, were added in the Purāṇas along with those on the Ages of the Manus. The self-contradictory title *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa* employed by Āpastamba indicates that in the period of the Sūtras the term Purāṇa had become so specialised as to have lost its proper meaning and became merely a designation of a particular class of books. The Purāṇas of those days probably gave rise to the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* definition, and included sections on geography and *bhakti* (devotion). Matters on Hindu rites and customs, which are strictly the domain of the Smṛtis and Dharmaśāstras, such as *varṇāśramadharma*, *śrāddha*, *dāna*, *dikṣā*, *vratas*, *tirthas*, etc., were incorporated into the Purāṇas, as shown by Hazra, not later than the middle of the fourth century A.D.⁹³ Liberties have all along been taken with the texts of the Purāṇas, and especially the ambition of the later compilers was to make the Purāṇas all-comprehensive and encyclopaedic like the *Mahābhārata* and every successive generation tried to make the Purāṇas up-to-date by various devices.

93. *Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 6.

5. *Contents of the Purāṇas:*

According to the classical definition, as already stated, the Purāṇas as a whole deal with the evolution of the universe, recreation of the universe from the constituent elements, genealogies of gods and seers, groups of great ages included in an aeon (*kalpa*), and the history of royal families. The first three of these subjects may be said to contain early religion, mythology and philosophy as also cosmography and 'ages'. The last two topics deal with genealogies and supply us with traditional history. The Purāṇas also contain, besides, a good deal on supplementary topics of religious instruction, rituals, *dāna*, *vratas*, *bhakti*, *yoga*, various incarnations of Viṣṇu and Śiva, and also medicine, music, grammar, poetics, metrics, dramaturgy, astronomy and astrology, architecture, sculpture, iconography, polity, *rājadharma*, etc.

Philosophy: Cosmogony: The Purāṇas contain various accounts as to the creation of the world.²⁴ Here we shall deal only with the accounts in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* as they are sufficient to give an idea of the cosmogony of the Purāṇas. According to one account, when the self-existent Brahman, who exists in three successively proceeding forms — *Puruṣa*, *Pradhāna* and *Kāla*, enters *Puruṣa* and *Pradhāna*, *Mahat* or *Buddhi* is produced from *Pradhāna*. *Buddhi* produces *Ahaṁkāra* and so are produced the five subtle elements (*tan-mātras*), the gross elements (*bhūtas*) and the eleven organs (*jñānendriyas*, *karmendriyas*, and *manas*). The highest deity, invested with the *rajas* (activity) *guṇa*, and known as *Brahmā*, creates all beings; the same deity with the *sattva* (purity) *guṇa*, and known as *Viṣṇu*, preserves the universe, and in the awful form *Rudra* with the *tamas* (darkness) *guṇa* destroys it.

24. For "Purāṇic Cosmogony", see *infra*, pp. 1-24.

Another account narrates the nine creations, the first three, viz. the animal creation, the elemental creation and the organic creation, being known as the *Prākṛta Sārga* (creation from *Prakṛti*), the next five as the *Vaikṛta Sārga*, and the last as the *Kaumāra Sārga*. In all these creations three *gūṇas* existed in different states of predominance.

In yet another account it is stated that *Brahmā* assumed four different forms in succession, and from these were produced the demons (*asuras*), gods (*devas*), forefathers (*pitṛs*) and the mankind (*manuṣyas*). Afterwards he produced all other living beings, creatures and vegetation. Then were produced the nine mind-born sons known as *Rṣis*, and deities called *Rudras*, after whom were created the first *Manu Svāyambhuva* and a woman *Śatarūpā*. These had two sons, *Priyavrata* and *Uttānapāda*, and a daughter. *Dakṣa* married the daughter and had 24 daughters, of whom 13 were married to *Dharma* and bore Love and other personified feelings, ten were married to other mind-born sons and *Agni* and the fore-fathers, and one, known as *Satī*, was married to *Śiva*.

This creation lasts for a day of *Brahmā* which is equal to 14 *Manus* or *Manvantaras*. At the close of each *Manvantara*, life of inferior creatures and lower worlds comes to an end, leaving the substance of the universe entire, and gods and sages unharmed. After the end of the fourteenth *Manvantara* or when *Brahmā's* day closes, occurs the great dissolution called *Naimittika Pratisarga* in which all things come to an end by fire and water, from which only the *Prākṛta Creation* escapes including the three qualities and Seven *Rṣis*, etc. At the end of *Brahmā's* night lasting for a *Kalpa*, he awakes and begins his creation again. All the *Prākṛta Creation* disappears only at the *Prākṛta Pralaya*, occurring at the end of the life of *Brahmā*, when not only all the gods and all other

forms are annihilated, but the elements are again merged into primary substance, besides which only spiritual being exists.

Kalpa, Manvantara, Yuga, Etc.: The explanation of these theories involves a consideration of the question of *Yugas* (ages), *Manvantaras* (periods of Manus), etc. A human year is a day and night of the gods. 12,000 divine years or 4,320,000 human years constitute *Caturyuga* (four ages) or *Mahāyuga* (great age) which is divided into four ages of progressive deterioration in the ratio of 4 : 3 : 2 : 1, respectively for *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali*. Each of these *Yugas* is preceded and followed by *Sandhyās* containing a tenth of the period of the *Yuga*. 1000 *Caturyugas* (i.e. 1000 x 4,320,000 human years) are equivalent to a day or night of *Brahmā*, which is called a *kalpa* (aeon). Each *kalpa* comprises the periods of 14 Manus (fathers of mankind), each of whom presides over 71 *Caturyugas* with a surplus.

This chronological system of fitting in 71 four-age periods making a *Manvantara* in the cosmological scheme is purely hypothetical and a later elaboration. The idea of four ages seems to be an early one. Various theories have been put forth by scholars for explaining the *Yugas* and *Manvantaras*. *Yuga* appears to have meant any unit of time. *Yuga* has been variously taken to represent a quarter of a day, a month, a period less than a year, one year, four years, five years, ten years, one hundred years, one thousand years or ten thousand years on the strength of references in Sanskrit works.⁹⁵ Daftary has published a monograph dealing with the astronomical method and its application to the chronology of ancient India. According to him, *Yuga* (also called *Manvantara*) was a period of four years (equivalent to a *kalpa*); the

95. cf. Mankad, *PO*, VI, pp. 211-2.

Mahā-kalpa was a period of one thousand years, comprising Kṛta (four hundred), Tretā (three hundred), Dvāpara (two hundred) and Kali (one hundred); the first Kṛta began in 3102 B.C., and the Bhārata war took place in 1197 B.C.⁹⁶ Mankad has tried to show that all Yugas had at first an equal number of years, each having one thousand years at first and then twelve hundred years; the total of four Yugas being at first four thousand years and later four thousand eight hundred years; Manvantara was used for (a) a period from one Manu (generic dynastic title for a king) to another Manu, or (b) a period from a Manu (starter of a dynasty) to any king of his line; *Caturyuga* in the usual Purāṇic formula "*Caturyugānām hi saṁkhyātā sādḥikā hyekasaptatiḥ Manvantaram*" was computed at forty years; the Manvantara Caturyuga method, employed for longer chronological computations, took a unit of forty years (termed as a Caturyuga) and in a given dynasty kept as many kings as the units of forty years were required. Manu's date has been taken to be 5976 B.C. and the date of Bhārata war 3201 B.C.⁹⁷

No satisfactory explanation of the Manvantara Caturyuga theory has yet come forth. The division of time into four ages (*Yugas*), the Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali, according to Pargiter, had a historical basis,⁹⁸ though later speculations have elaborated it into an amazing yet precise scheme of cosmogony, to which we have briefly referred. This theory of the four ages applies only to India and not to the whole world and thus the further elaboration of these ages in the 71 four-age periods making up a Manvantara is

96. *Astronomical Method* (Nagpur, 1942), pp. 143-46, 148, 160, 148-53, 165-7, 44 ff.

97. *PO*, VI, pp. 206-216; *ABORI*, XXIII, pp. 271-290; *IHQ*, XVIII, pp. 208-30; *PO*, VIII, pp. 1-24; *Puranic Chronology*, Anand, 1951; also *infra*, pp. 211-2.

98. *AIHT*, pp. 175-9.

evidently a later development. As in later periods, great wars, conquests or political changes should be taken to have marked the end of one age and the coming in of another in the ancient period of traditional history. The Bhārata war has been taken as having occurred at the close of the Dvāpara age, and the Kali age began after the war. Earlier, Rāma Dāśarathi is said to have lived in the interval between the Tretā and Dvāpara age. The Kṛta age appears to have ended with the destruction of the Haihayas and the Tretā began with the reign of Sagara. Thus, in the scheme of genealogy before the Bhārata war from Manu Vaivasvata to the participants in the great war which comprises 95 generations (according to Pargiter), the Kṛta covers forty generations (Nos. 1-40), the Tretā extends to twenty-five generations (Nos. 41-65) and the Dvāpara to thirty generations (Nos. 66-95). These ages thus symbolize changes in the political conditions in India. Taking an average of 18 years for each generation, it may be stated that the Kṛta age covered (40×18) 720 years, Tretā (25×18) 450 years, and Dvāpara (30×18) 540 years, or that the historical period in India begins about 1800 years before the Bhārata war. In other words, the great Flood, immediately after which the dynastic lists in traditional history begin, occurred about 1800 years before the Bhārata war.

Cosmography: The account of the first Manu includes a description of the universe over which he ruled. Like chronology, most of the description is imaginary. The world is said to consist of seven concentric continents separated by encircling seas of different substances such as butter, milk, etc. Fabulous and mythological descriptions have been given of the nether regions comprising hells, and of the sun, moon, planets, stars and celestial worlds, etc. The innermost of the seven continents separated from the next

by salt water is Jambu-dvīpa which alone was subject to the law of Caturyugas. The most important region of Jambudvīpa is Bhāratavarṣa or India, so called because the descendants of the Bharatas reside therein. Bhāratavarṣa is defined as the country that lies north of the ocean and south of the snowy mountains. It is said to contain seven main chains of mountains named Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Ṛkṣa, Vindhya and Pāripātra. The Kīrātas are stated to dwell on the east of Bhārata; the Yādavas on the west, and the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras in the centre.⁹⁹ Detailed lists have been given of the rivers flowing from the Himālayas and seven mountain chains as also of several tribes inhabiting the various regions. The *Mahābhārata* and other works also contain similar lists. The mention of Yavanas, Śakas and Pahlavas who came to India in the second and first centuries B.C. and of Hūṇas, who broke up the Gupta empire in the sixth century A.D., indicates that the geographical lists have been brought up-to-date, from time to time.

Dynastic Lists: The Purāṇas begin their genealogies with Manu, the saviour of humanity at the Flood. Vāivasvata Manu, the first king, had ten sons, among whom was divided the whole country. The eldest son had a dual personality as Ilā or Ilā, and was the progenitor respectively of the Saudyumnas and the Alias. Ikṣvāku got the Madhyadeśa with its capital at Ayodhyā, and his son Vikukṣi continued the main Ikṣvāku branch of the Solar dynasty, and from another son Nemi sprang the Videhas. From Nabhaga who ruled over the Yamunā descended the Rathītaras, known as "Kṣatriyan Brāhmaṇas". Dhṛṣṭa originated Dhṛṣṭakas who ruled over the Punjab. Śaryāti, founder of the Śāryātas, ruled in Anarta, mo-

99. Wilson, *Viṣṇu P.* (trans), II, pp. 127-9.

derm Gujarāt, with its capital at Kuśasthalī (Dvārakā). Nābhānediṣṭha ruled over modern Tirhut, and Viśāla in this line founded the Vaiśāla dynasty. From Karuṣa came the Kārūṣas, the determined fighters, who occupied Badhelkhand and Shahbad. Not much is known about Nariṣyanta and Prāṁsu, and Pṛṣadhra was probably excluded from his share.

From Purūravas Aila, born of Ilā, who ruled over Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Pihan) started the Aila or Lunar dynasty. His son Āyu succeeded him at Pratiṣṭhāna, and another son Amāvasu founded the Kānyakubja dynasty. Of his five sons, Nahuṣa succeeded Āyu, Kṣatravṛddha established himself at Kāśī, and Anenas gave rise to the Kṣatradharmans. Nahuṣa had five or six sons. Yati, the eldest, embraced asceticism, and Yayāti, the great sacrificer, succeeded Nahuṣa. Yayāti married Devayāni and Śarmiṣṭhā, and had as sons Yadu and Turvasu (from Devayāni), and Anu, Druhyu and Puru (from Śarmiṣṭhā), all founders of great dynasties. Puru continued the main line, and Pauravas, forerunners of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, sprang from him. Yadu was the founder of the Yādavas, who included the Haihayas, Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis, Sātvatas, etc. From Anu descended the Ānavas who branched off into Yaudheyas, Sauviras, Kaikayas, etc. Druhyu's descendants spread out into the Mleccha country beyond India, and Turvasu's line later merged in the Pauravas.

From Manu to the Bhārata war have been given about 95 generations. After the Bhārata war, the Purāṇas use the future tense for the subsequent dynasties, which are called dynasties of the Kali age, given only in seven Purāṇas. The account runs till about the period of the Guptas and Āndhras.

Theology: The theology preached is heterogeneous. In preference to the Vedic deities of whom

only Indra and Agni retain their premier positions, popular deities are praised in the Purāṇas. The three chief gods are Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Varuṇa becomes the lord of the ocean, and his twin Mītra has disappeared. The Sun is highly extolled in some Purāṇas, but details of his worship are given in the *Bhaviṣya*. Yama, the god of the dead, punishes the sinners in his hells. Gandharvas and Apsarasas are celestial musicians and nymphs. Under demons are classed the Asuras, Daityas, Dānavas and Rākṣasas.

Of the trinity, Brahmā is the creator, Viṣṇu the preserver, and Śiva the destroyer. Sectarian Purāṇas preach the supremacy either of Viṣṇu or of Śiva, but generally, the older Purāṇas glorify also the rival deity. The high watermark is found in the monotheistic teaching enunciating the unity of all three, and worship of any one of them according to the preference of the worshipper.

Incarnations: Ten incarnations of Viṣṇu appear in most of the Purāṇas, of whom five (Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha and Vāmana) are mythological, four (Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Buddha) are historical, and one (Kalki) is still future. Three of these, viz. Varāha, Narasimha and Vāmana, of whom germs are found in Vedic literature, are said to be *divya* (divine) and the rest are *mānuṣa* (human).¹⁰⁰ The Daśāvatāra (ten incarnations) theory suggests the idea of evolutionary process of human development. The fish emerges out of the early Palaeozoic seas, followed by the tortoise and boar in the Mesozoic period. Next came the man-lion and dwarf in the period of cavemen and bushmen. Paraśurāma represents the nomadic or hunter stage and Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, the fully civilised stage of city life.

100. *Vāyu*, 98.88; *Matsya*, 47.241.

In contrast to Viṣṇu, who appears on the celestial plane except when incarnated, Śiva is a terrestrial god, forming part of the Hindu pantheon since prehistoric times. He is associated with Pārvatī, the Mother Goddess, and they have Skanda and Gaṇeśa as sons. The Pāsupata cult, praised in the Śaiva Purāṇas, is reprobated in others. The Līṅga cult associated with Śiva appears only in the later Purāṇas, as also the Śākta cult associated with the female counter-part of Līṅga worship.

There is also the worship of Pitṛs (Manes) who are said to comprise seven groups, sometimes ranked with gods. They come into existence with gods in each *manvantara*. These pitṛs are connected with Śrāddha, about which elaborate particulars are given in the Purāṇas.

Heterodox systems: Among the heretical systems Jainism and Buddhism are condemned. Viṣṇu himself is represented as appearing as Māyāmoha, who misguides the demons with the philosophies of darkness and ignorance, viz. those of the Buddhists, Jains and Cārvākas. The term Nagna (naked) has been applied to Avaidika, i.e., a heretic, and includes these three. Kāpālikas also figure as worst heretics.

Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa: These four aims of life form part of most of the Purāṇas. Under *dharma* is included religious teaching both Brahmanical and popular. The doctrine of sin and punishment is distinctly laid down, with penance for the expiation of sins, and punishments in hells, of which description is given. The popular teaching consists of descriptions of *tīrthas* and of pilgrimages to them, as also of *vrātas*, *dāna*, etc. — the chief feature of all these being that they were available to all, including women and Śūdras to whom the Vedas were denied.

Artha (acquisition of wealth, or polity) may be found in the Rājadharmā section appended to various

Purāṇas dealing with the duties of kings and methods of administration, conduct of war and peace, etc.

Under Kāma, we may include rules about marriage, duties of wife and women, which are illustrated by stories. Sītā and Sāvitrī are cited as examples of perfect wifehood.

Mokṣa (final emancipation) was the aim placed before every human being. Transmigration was an article of faith with every one. As means to the attainment of deliverance from the chain of successive rebirths were prescribed the paths of Yoga and Bhakti. Both Jñānayoga and Karmayoga have been taught. Bhakti is generally associated with Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa.

Miscellaneous Matters: Medicine, veterinary science, architecture, scrutiny of gems, astrology, grammar, etc. are expounded in the *Garuḍa* and *Agni*. The latter further deals with archery, poetics, metrics, drama and music. The *Matsya* has a section on architecture.

6. *Purāṇas and the so-called Kṣatriya tradition:*

Pargiter and others hold that the Purāṇas represent the Kṣatriya tradition, as distinct from the Vedic texts which, according to these scholars, represent the Brāhmaṇa tradition.¹⁰¹ The theory is mainly based on two assumptions: (i) that the heroes of the legends and stories in the Purāṇas are Kṣatriya kings who mostly do not figure in the Vedic literature, and (ii) their transmission was entrusted to the Sūta of the Kṣatriya origin. There is absolutely no foundation for these beliefs.

The Sūta, as shown already, was not a non-Brāhmaṇa, but a venerable sage. As regards the so-called Kṣatriya tradition, there have never been in India two

101. Pargiter, *AIHT*, pp. 58-77; Rapson, *CHI*, I, pp. 297, 302; Winternitz, *HIL*, I, pp. 315 f.

such water-tight compartments as the Brāhmaṇa tradition and Kṣatriya tradition. Even in the works distinctly assigned to Kṣatriya tradition by Pargiter we find glorification of the Brāhmaṇas, and the so-called Brahmanic literature abounds in Kṣatriya legends. The Purāṇas themselves assign a comparatively small portion to genealogical accounts, the genuine Kṣatriya tradition according to Pargiter; their main bulk deals with Vedic and Brahmanic lore. Moreover, the Purāṇas follow the Vedic religion and take pride in styling themselves as the 'fifth Veda'. The earliest reference to Purāṇa, as observed by Keith, is for a point of Brahmanical lore and not for a point of genealogy or history.¹⁰² Again, even according to Pargiter, the Purāṇas, as we have them now, are *undeniably* Brahmanic compilations;¹⁰³ so no part can be partitioned as Brahmanic and Kṣatriya tradition. These are not two distinct sets of traditions; both are Brahmanical traditions, but produced under different environments and with different aims and objects.

7. *Comparative Value of Vedic Texts and Purāṇas:*

There has been a difference of opinion among scholars as to the comparative value of the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas in regard to the historical data supplied by them. Keith is excessively sceptical about the historical value of the Purāṇas and is doubtful regarding the historicity of any event which is not explicitly mentioned in the *Rgveda*. Pargiter goes to the other extreme and gives more weight to the Purāṇic tradition than to the Vedic evidence which he styles as the Brāhmaṇa tradition. The so-called Kṣatriya tradition, however, is hardly an unpolluted source of history. Priority of date and comparative freedom from textual corruption are doubtless two

102. *JRAS*, 1914, p. 1027.

103. *JRAS*, 1912, p. 880.

strong points in favour of Vedic texts. The Purāṇas, however, cannot be ruled out absolutely because despite a good deal of what is untrustworthy in them it is absurd to suppose that fiction completely ousted the truth.

As the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas were produced under different circumstances and with different aims and objects, there would naturally be some differences in the accounts recorded in them. It will be seen, however, that there is practically no contradiction or conflict between the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas. The *Ṛgveda* as we have it is a Kuru-pāṇcāla product and naturally kings belonging to that country play prominent roles in it and others find but incidental mention. Kings who are mentioned in the Vedic texts but are not found in the Purāṇic tradition were possibly princes and chieftains of smaller dynasties not preserved in the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas. There is also the possibility of the same person being referred to under different names in the two sets of traditional accounts. Some of the kings mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* can be fitted in the gaps in the Purāṇic lists. The *Ṛgveda* no doubt offers the proper corrective to the Purāṇic lists; but, when we find Purāṇic accounts to be corroborated by the Vedic evidence, it is legitimate to take their testimony as valid in matters on which the *Ṛgveda* is silent. The proper procedure for the writing of traditional history is to take into account the joint testimony of the Vedic and Purāṇic texts wherever available and to try to bring harmony into the conflicting texts. The evidence of the Purāṇas in these matters needs very careful consideration.

8. *Age of the Purāṇas:*

The age of the Purāṇas is a disputed question. At one time it was thought that the Purāṇas belong

to the latest productions of Sanskrit literature and originated in the last thousand years. References to the Purāṇas prior to that period contradict this view. It is no doubt true that the Purāṇas, as they exist, cannot be assigned to any particular age; even the component parts of individual Purāṇas belong to different periods, as the processes of inflation, omission, emendation, contamination, etc. have been continuously going on.

While dealing with the age of the Purāṇas, therefore, we should consider the date of the earliest portions and not the latest. The earlier versions of the Purāṇas, no doubt, existed at the period of the Bhārata war and that of Megasthenes. The extant Purāṇas, however, can be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era on the testimony of epigraphy and literature. According to MM. H.P. Sastri, for deciding the age of the Purāṇas, we should consider the number and order of the incarnations of Viṣṇu and the enumeration of tribes and castes of India and of surrounding countries.¹⁰⁴

9. *Historical value of the Purāṇas and Purāṇas and modern scholarship:*

Twelve Purāṇas contain dynastic lists, seven of which continue it after the Bhārata war. Though reduced to writing at a comparatively late period, there is no doubt that the Purāṇas embody the earliest traditional history and that much of their material is old and valuable. Hence, there would be no justification for rejecting the evidence of the Purāṇas wholesale.

Modern scholarship varied its attitude towards the Purāṇas at different times. At the beginning of the Indic studies in the last decades of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, the Purāṇas were regarded as of no historical value on account of the

104. *Des. Cat. of MSS. ASB*, V, Intr., p. xci.

confused 'conglomeration' of legendary and historical events in the Purāṇas as also their peculiar ideas of 'ages'. The confirmation of the Purāṇic statement as to the source of the Nile by actual discovery by Capt. Speke in Nubia (Kusādvīpa) turned the tide in favour of the Purāṇas for a while; but the study of inscriptions and coins, which was inaugurated in India at about the same time, tended to minimise the value of the Purāṇas and in some respects contradicted the tradition and proved it to be wrong. The Buddhist texts also ran counter to the accounts in the Purāṇas in some particulars. All this tended to raise suspicion and disbelief about the Purāṇas.

In the early decades of the last century, Wilson made a systematic study of the Purāṇas and brought out an English translation of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* with an exhaustive introduction and critical and comparative notes which attracted the attention of European scholars to this important branch of Sanskrit literature. The Purāṇas were rescued from the unmerited oblivion and were considered as worthy of credence when corroborated by independent evidence. It was not however till the early decades of the present century that the patient and sustained researches of Pargiter placed before the world a critical survey of the historical material in the Purāṇas. These have made a strong case in favour of the historical statements in the Purāṇas. Smith has proved that the *Matsya* account of the Āndhras is substantially correct. Scholars have found that the *Viṣṇu* version about the Mauryas and the *Vāyu* about the early Guptas merit credence and the Purāṇas are now regarded as worthy of more serious attention than they have received hitherto. The present view is to accept the Purāṇas as one of the important sources of the traditional history of ancient India. Nowadays, the Purāṇas are being critically studied in order to ex-

tract historical data therefrom. Modern historians and orientalists like Rapson, Smith, Jayaswal, D. R. Bhandarkar, Raychaudhuri, Pradhan, Rangacharya, Altekar and Jayachandra have used the Purāṇic material in their historical works, studies, monographs and articles.

The importance of the Purāṇas for the comprehensive history of Indian culture and civilisation is immense as there are sections dealing with polity, sociology, administrative institutions, religion and philosophy, law and legal institutions, fine arts, architecture, etc. The function of a modern historian should be to disentangle legendary, fictitious, or mythological material from the purely historical and cultural data.

CHAPTER I

PURĀNIC COSMOGONY

It is a sign of good times that of late there seems to have been some revival of interest in Purāṇic Studies, as would appear from references to the importance of the Purāṇas in the Presidential Addresses of scholars, whose views are entitled to command respect. At the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference at Trivandrum, Dr. G. S. Ghurye, as the President of the Ethnology Section, drew pointed attention to Pargiter's observations on different racial "stocks" in India, and ably controverted the views of the veteran Purāṇic scholar.¹ Pargiter and Purāṇas again figured prominently in the Presidential Address of Dr. A. S. Altekar at the Archaic Section of the Third Indian History Congress at Calcutta, where pre-Bhārata war history was considered and the Purāṇas evaluated.² Later on, the late Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the General President of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference at Tirupati, stressed the importance of the Purāṇas and made a strong plea for starting afresh their critical study.³ In the same session, Dr. B. L. Atreya, as the President of the Religion and Philosophy Section, rightly observed: "We have still no authentic work dealing with the religion and philosophy of the Purāṇas."⁴ Indian scholars have recognised the importance of the Purāṇas in their writings on historical subjects, and quite recently the University of Madras has published two volumes of *Purāṇa Index*.

Taking advantage of the interest thus created about the Purāṇas by the above speeches, I naturally decided to deal with the important subject of Purāṇic

1. POC, IX, pp. 911-954.

2. JBHU, IV, pp. 183-223.

3. POC, X, pp. lxxv-lxxvi.

4. POC, X, p. 234.

Cosmogony which forms the first topic, viz. *sarga*, in the definition of *Purāṇa-Pañcalakṣaṇa*, which runs:

सृगंद्व प्रतिसृगंद्व वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।

वशानुचरितं चेति पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥⁵

In order, however, to fully appreciate the evolution of cosmogonic ideas in India, it is better to begin our investigation from the oldest period in India, the period of the *R̥gveda*, and consider in their chronological order, as far as possible, the views subsequently expressed down to the period of the *Purāṇas* so that we can easily understand how far the *Purāṇas* are indebted to the past and what is their contribution in the field of cosmogony. I may mention here that I have followed the generally accepted scheme of chronology in this chapter.

As is well known to all students of Ancient Culture and to anthropologists, primitive people all the world over think and act alike; hence naturally enough, certain basic principles run through all ideas regarding cosmogony. But cosmogonic legends of different countries tend to harmonize only after a time. These myths generally look up for the creation of the world from the fewest possible elements. Cosmogonical speculations in the Vedic period do not present any generally accepted theory as to the origin of the world: widely differing ideas about this problem appear to have existed, which were developed and harmonized by the poet-philosophers of the *R̥gveda*. There is, no doubt, certain progress from crude and unconnected notions to more refined ideas and broader views.

The cosmogony of the *R̥gveda* may be viewed from two aspects, the mythological and the philo-

5. Cf. *Kāma*, I. 1. 12; *Varāha*, 2. 4; *Matsya*, 53. 65; *Vāyu*, 4. 10-11; *Bhaviṣya*, I. 2, 4-5. Some texts read वशानुचरितं for वंशानुचरितं.

sophical. The mythological aspect has in general two currents, as observed by Dr. Macdonell: "The one regards the universe as the result of mechanical production, the work of carpenter's and joiner's skill; the other represents it as the result of natural generation."⁶ The world, according to Vedic notions, consists of three parts—earth, air and sky or heaven. But when the idea of "universe" is to be expressed, the most commonly used phrase is "heaven and earth." Both heaven and earth are regarded as gods and as the parents of gods, even though they are said to have been generated by gods. This involves a downright self-contradiction; but it seems to have only enhanced the mystery of this conception without lessening its value, since it recurs even in advanced speculation. Aditi is said to have brought forth Dakṣa, and Dakṣa is said to have generated Aditi, where Aditi stands for the female principle in creation and Dakṣa for the male principle. To Puruṣa or the primeval male is dedicated the famous Puruṣa-Sūkta, *Rgveda*, X. 90, which recurs with variations in the *Atharvaveda*, *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* and *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*,⁷ and which generally influenced later theosophical speculation. No apology is needed, I think, for giving the relevant portion of the hymn in translation. I have similarly quoted hereafter the passages in translation.

"The Puruṣa with thousand heads,
 With thousand eyes and thousand feet,
 Surrounds the earth on every side,
 And goes ten digits beyond.
 Puruṣa, aye, is all this world,
 The world that was and that will be.
 He even rules th' immortal world
 Which must sustain itself by food.

6. Vedic Mythology, p. 11.

7. *Atharvaveda*, XIX. 6. 6; *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, XXXI. 11; *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, III. 12. 5.

Thus great is this majesty—
 Yet even beyond in strength he goes.
 A quarter of him all beings are.
 Three quarters are immortal beyond."⁸

The unity of the Godhead as the cause of the world, which is recognized in the above hymn, is directly expressed in others where he is called the One, the Unborn, and placed above all gods. In two hymns, *Rgveda*, X. 81 and 82, he is invoked under the name Viśvakarman, "All-Creator," who, in later mythology, became the architect of the gods. In another remarkable hymn, *Rgveda*, X. 121, the poet inquires who is the first-born god that created the world and upholds it, and in the last verse he is invoked as "Prajāpati", "Lord of the Creatures." Prajāpati later became the current designation of the Creator, and synonymous with Brahmā. The Supreme Being is said to have originated in the primeval waters as the Golden Germ (Hiranya-garbha) which contained all the gods and the world, or became the Creator. The idea was afterwards developed to that of the world-egg and of Brahmā.

An entirely different treatment of the cosmological problem is contained in the philosophical hymn, *Rgveda*, X. 129, which, for depth of speculation is one of the most admirable poems of the *Rgveda*; it has passed over into the general literature of religion and philosophy. Prof. W. D. Whitney remarked anent it in 1882, that the unlimited praises which had been bestowed upon it as philosophy and as poetry were well-nigh nauseating.⁹ And yet, twelve years later, Dr. Paul Deussen, who according to Dr. Maurice Bloomfield, was not trying to contradict Whitney, broke out into new praise, more ecstatic than ever:

8. Bloomfield *Religion of the Veda*, pp. 242-243.

9. *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XI, p. cxi.

"In its noble simplicity, in the loftiness of its philosophic vision, it is possibly the most admirable bit of philosophy of olden times." And again, "No translation can ever do justice to the beauty of the original."¹⁰ Instead of the view of creation by an external agency, this hymn propounds the view that the sensible world is the spontaneous unfolding of the supra-sensible first cause. The conception is wholly impersonal and free from all mythological elements. It contains the quintessence of monistic thought anticipating Upaniṣadic monism.

These philosophical hymns of the *Rgveda* form, according to Dr. Winternitz, a bridge to the philosophical speculations of the *Upaniṣads*.¹¹

In the *Atharvaveda* we come across some cosmological hymns mostly of the Prajāpati type, in which the highest god and creator is conceived under other forms, and invoked under various names such as Rohita, Anaḍvan, Vaśā, Kāla, Kāma, Mahādeva, Iśāna, etc. The philosophical hymns of the *Atharvaveda*, no doubt, presuppose a fairly high development of metaphysical thought; but it should be noted that the productive thoughts of the truly philosophical hymns of the *Rgveda* have attained their further development only in the *Upaniṣads*. The *Atharvaveda* hymns stand, as Dr. Deussen says, "not so much inside the great course of development, as, rather, by its side."¹²

The *Brāhmaṇas* contain many legends about Prajāpati having created the world. They usually open with some statement like the following: "In the beginning was Prajāpati, nothing but Prajāpati; he desired, 'may I become many'; he performed austerities and thereby created these worlds." Be-

10. *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, Vol. I, Part I, no. 119, 126; Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

11. Winternitz, *HIL*, I, p. 100.

12. *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 209.

sides Prajāpati other names of the Creator are met with, viz: Svayambhū Nārāyaṇa, Svayambhū Brahman, and even Not-Being. The authors of the *Brāhmaṇas* being wholly engrossed with liturgy and ceremonial introduce these legends in order to explain some detail of ritual or the like; and therefore after a few general remarks on the creation of the world, they plunge again into ritualistic discussions. But the little information they give sufficiently shows the contemporary popular opinions about the origin of the world. Besides the usual statement about Prajāpati being at the beginning of things, there are others, according to which, the waters seem to have been believed to be coeval with him or to have preceded him. Full development of the conception of the world-egg theory is found in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*:¹³

"In the beginning there existed here nothing but water, a sea of water. These waters desired to propagate their kind. They tortured themselves, they mortified themselves. And when they had mortified themselves a golden egg originated in them. About a year a man arose out of it; that was Prajāpati. He broke the golden egg open. But at that time there did not exist any standing place. . . . After a year he tried to speak, and he said "*bhūh*", and this (word) became this earth; (he said) "*Bhuvah*", and this became yonder atmosphere; (he said) "*svah*" and this became the sky yonder. . . . He placed reproductive energy into himself, and with his mouth he created the gods After he had created the gods, he made the day out of that which was light, and after he had created the Asuras he made the night out of that which was dark. So there now existed day and night."

Another creation legend is still more remarkable, though also much less clear, which begins with

13. XI, 1. 6. 1-11.

the words,¹⁴ "In the beginning there was here only the non-existent (*Asat*)". But it is at once added that this non-existent was really the *Ṛṣis*, for these, by means of self-torture and self-mortification, have brought forth everything. These *Ṛṣis*, however, were the *Prāṇas* or life-spirits, and these created first seven *Puruṣas* or persons, and then united these to a single *Puruṣa*, to *Prajāpati*.

The Brahman, originally signifying prayer or magic spell, then sacred knowledge or *Veda*, was in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* already made the foundation of all existence. From this only a step remained to the doctrine of the Brahman itself as a creative principle. This doctrine too is found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, where it says:¹⁵

"In the beginning there was here only the Brahman. This created the gods, and after it had created the gods, it gave them these worlds as dwellings, (namely), this earth-world to *Agni*, the atmosphere to *Vāyu* and the heaven to *Sūrya*."

Thus we find that all those ideas were in the making in the *Brāhmaṇas*, which were fully developed only in the *Aranyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*. It is also remarkable that there is no ONE creation legend in the *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, which has won general acceptance in India. There are a great number of creation legends containing the most diversified ideas and speculations which can never be made to harmonize with one another.

While the authors of the *Brāhmaṇas* treated cosmogonic myths from their liturgical point of view, the authors of the *Upaniṣads* viewed them from the philosophical standpoint and utilized them to illustrate the oneness of Brahman and its presence in all created things. Accordingly such philosophical abstractions as Brahman, *Ātman*, Not-Being or Being are

14. ŚB, VI. 1. 1.

15. XI. 2. 3. 1.

frequently substituted for Prajāpati, and from this first principle are derived the worlds or the Vedas, or other cosmical and psychical agencies. These notions have been developed and combined in various ways; but it is always stated that the first principle, after having created things, entered them, so that it is present in them, and in a way, is identical with, and yet different from, them. "It is impossible," as has rightly been observed by Dr. Jacobi, "to reduce the variety of opinion on the origin of the world contained in the *Upaniṣads*, to one general idea underlying them."¹⁶

In the following pages an attempt has been made to do full justice to and to illustrate *Upaniṣadic* cosmogony from original sources as it forms the basis and groundwork of all subsequent speculation. Following Prof. Ranade, we may divide *Upaniṣadic* theories into impersonalistic and personalistic, and start our investigation with the impersonalistic theories.¹⁷

Beginning with grosser elements, we find that the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* regards water as the origin of all things. "...from the waters was born Satya or Truth; Satya produced Brahman, Brahman gave birth to Prajāpati, and from Prajāpati were born the gods;..."¹⁸ Not Brahman but Satya is the ultimate 'concrete' existence here.

The *Chāndogya* maintains the theory of "Air" as the final absorbent of things, especially of water and fire, which, according to the other contemporary philosophers, were regarded as constituting the origin of all things whatsoever.¹⁹

16. *ERE*, IV, p. 157.

17. *Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy*, pp. 73 ff.

18. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, V. 5. 1:

आप एवेदमय आमुस्ता आपः सत्यममुजन्त, सत्यं ब्रह्म, ब्रह्म प्रजापति, प्रजापतिर्देवान् । ते देवाः सत्यमेवोपासते ।

19. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, IV, 3. 1-2.

The *Kāthopaniṣad* tells that fire having entered the universe assumed all forms.²⁰ The *Chāndogya*, however, maintains that the fire was the first to evolve from the primeval Being, and that from fire came water, and from water the earth.²¹ Fire cannot in reality be regarded as the origin of things as it burns up all.

The *Chāndogya*, again, marks a further advance stating space to be the arche of things.²² Space is said to be the final habitat. In yet another passage, the same *Upaniṣad* maintains that space is really higher than fire, the sun and the moon, the lightning and the stars, and advises to meditate upon space as the highest reality.

That Not-Being was regarded as the primary existent is seen from the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*,²³ where we find the natural development of the idea expressed in the famous *Nāśadiya Sūkta*. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* also expresses itself similarly.²⁴ Such passages show that human thought at some period reaches a stage when it is required to take recourse to privative logical conception like Not-Being.

The philosophy of Not-Being has been connected by the *Chāndogya* with the myth of the Universal Egg²⁵ to which some reference has already been made. The *Upaniṣad* passage mentions two parts of the Egg, viz. of gold and silver, out of which came mountains,

20. *Kāthaka Upaniṣad*, II. 5:

अग्निर्गन्धर्को भुवनं प्रविष्टो रूपं रूपं प्रतिरूपो बभूव ।

21. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VI. 8. 4.

22. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, I. 9. 1; VII. 12. 1.

23. *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, II. 7:

असद्वा इदमग्र आसीत् । ततो वै सदायत । तदात्मानं स्वयमकुस्त ।

तस्मात्तत्सुकृतमुच्यत इति ।

24. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I. 2. 1-2.

25. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, III. 19. 1-3.

clouds, rivers, oceans, and the sun. Similar to the idea of regarding the universe as a huge egg was the view that the universe was a "huge chest with the earth as its bottom and the heaven as its upper lid, the sky as its inside and the quarters as its corners, containing in its inside a rich treasure."²⁶

The conception of Being as the arche of things follows that of Not-Being; and the *Chāndogya* directly tells us that Being alone existed at the beginning of things.²⁷ It criticizes those who regard the primeval existent as Not-Being, and Being as produced therefrom. It further tells us that there are three different colours belonging to the three different elements, viz. the red, the white and the black, which were later borrowed by the Sāṅkhya philosophy and made to constitute the three different qualities of the Sāṅkhya Prakṛti. In short, the *Chāndogya* maintains a sort of a philosophical trinitarian monism.

The *Chāndogya* and *Kauṣītaki* supply us with an advance over the previous theory maintaining that Prāṇa or life-force or cosmic force is the ultimate substratum of things.²⁸ The *Kauṣītaki*, however, presents Prāṇa with certain features which are not met with in the *Chāndogya* or *Praśna*.²⁹ Prāṇa is directly identified with life, with *prajñā* (consciousness), with Ātman itself, the ultimate reality which is ageless and immortal. It thus comes about that Prāṇa is life from biological point of view, conscious-

26. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, III. 15. 1.

27. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VI. 2. 1-4.

28. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, I. 11. 5; IV. 33; *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, II. 1:

प्राणो ब्रह्मेति ह स्माह कौषीतकिः ।

29. *Praśna Upaniṣad*, II. 1-12; *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, III. 2-9:

आयुः प्राणः प्राणो वा आयुः । . . . यो वै प्राणः सा प्रजा, या वा प्रजा स प्राणः . . . ।

ness from psychological and Ātman from the metaphysical point of view.

Hitherto theories which regard elements or primitive conceptions or metaphysical or bio-psycho-metaphysical conception as the origin of things were considered. Now we come to the personalistic theories of creation. The *Praśna*³⁰ tells that at the beginning of creation the creator became desirous of creating and with that end in view practised penance, and first created a pair, namely Rayi and Prāṇa, corresponding respectively to matter and spirit, with the intention of creating all the existence whatsoever from them. Similarly does the *Taittiriya*,³¹ where the mythological duality of the *Praśna* is replaced by the philosophical duality.

Yet another explanation of the duality of existence, of the duality of sex, is given by the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*,³² which relates to the generation of the duality of sex from the Ātman in the organic world. The *Āitareya*³³ gives a much more elaborate explanation of the generation of all objects in the universe, which contains the fullest account of the fact of creation in the *Upaniṣads*.

"In the beginning the Ātman alone existed, and that there was no other blinking thing whatsoever. The Ātman thought to himself, let me create the worlds; whereupon he created the four worlds. . . . After these worlds were created the Ātman proceeded to create first a World-Person. . . . whom he fashioned out of waters, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. The Ātman then brooded upon this World-

30. *Praśna Upaniṣad*, I. 3-13.

31. *Taittiriya Upaniṣad*, II. 6.

32. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I. 4. 1-4.

33. *Āitareya Upaniṣad*, I. 1-3.

आत्मा वा इदमेक एवाय आसीन्नान्यत्किञ्चन

मिषत् । स ईक्षत लोकान्नु सृजा इति । . . .

Person, and as a result of his brooding created first his various organs of sense, then the functions corresponding to them, and lastly the deities or the world-governors corresponding to such functions in the cosmos."

Thus, according to the *Aitareya*, the function always follows the structure in the microcosm of the intermediary Person but always precedes it in the macrocosm of the universe. After creating worlds in this fashion, the Cosmic Person, the World-governors, and Hunger and Thirst, the *Ātman* next proceeded to create the Soul in the human body, which he entered by the "door of division", also called the "place of rejoicing". After the *Ātman* was born as the individual soul, he began to be subject, according to the *Aitareya*, to the three states of consciousness, viz. the waking, the dreaming and the deep-sleep state of consciousness. We thus see how the individual soul was the last object to be created by the *Ātman* and how ultimately there is a metaphysical identity between the individual soul and the supreme soul.

So far mythological explanations of the creation of objects from the primeval *Ātman* have been considered. The *Taittirīya* supplies us with an emanatory theory of cosmogony where we are told that "from *Ātman* in the first instance proceeded space, from space air, from air fire, from fire water, and from water the earth."³⁴ This passage has served as a standing crux to all absolutistic interpreters of *Upaniṣadic* philosophy who tried to reduce everything except the *Ātman* to an illusion.

The connecting link between the emanatory theory just told and the theistic theory of the *Svetā-*

34. *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, II 1:

तस्माद्वा एतस्मादात्मन आकाशः संभूतः ।

आकाशाद्वायुः, वायोरग्निः, अग्नेरापः, अपश्च पृथिवी ।

śvatara is supplied by the *Muṇḍaka* by its personal-impersonal theory of the universe, which states:³⁵

"At the beginning of creation there existed a heavenly Formless Person who was unborn, without a mind, lustrous, and super-immutable. From him were born life, mind, senses, space, air, light, water and earth, which last is the basis of the universe...." Though mythological considerations peep in, this account marks an advance over the previously described theories and approaches the truly theistic theory of creation which accounts for the creation of all sorts of existences by the primeval person.

The *Śvetāśvatara* no doubt was written in the interests of a Śaivite theory of theism; but it equates the god Śiva with the supreme godhead.³⁶ It tries philosophically to account for the creation of the world by the godhead by criticizing the extant opinions, which hold Time, Nature, Necessity, Chance, Elements, Person, their Combination, or the Ātman as the cause of all things. After controverting the different theories, it concludes that Rudra alone rules the world by his powers;... (he) can be regarded as the creator of all things that exist. He is the supreme godhead. Thus the *Śvetāśvatara* advances a truly philosophic theory of creation in which all power is ultimately due to a personal godhead who causes the whole universe to move round his finger.

The *Upaniṣads* are the backbone of the philosophical speculations of Hindus. Every subsequent thinker has drawn liberally on the *Upaniṣads*, and it has been the endeavour of all, somehow or other, to bring in their system under the banner of the *Upaniṣads* by twisting the meaning, if necessary. The *Upaniṣads* stand as the basis of the famous *Ṣaḍ-Dar-*

35. *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, II. 1. 2-9.

36. *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, I. 2.

śānas, and the Sāṅkhya ideas are found in more or less developed form in the *Śvetāśvatara* and some later *Upaniṣads*, which form the connecting link between the *Upaniṣadic* period and that of the epics and the Purāṇas. The genesis of the evolutionary theory of Sāṅkhya can be traced to these *Upaniṣads*.

As subsequent writers have laid under contribution the conceptions propounded by the Sāṅkhya philosophy of which the germs are found in the *Upaniṣads*, it would be useful to append here a short sketch of the system about cosmogony. According to Sāṅkhya philosophy there are two principles entirely independent of each other: the *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* or *Pradhāna*. *Prakṛti* is made up of the three *guṇas*—*sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*—in the state of equipoise. *Mahān* or *Buddhi* is developed from *Prakṛti* when this equilibrium is disturbed through the presence of the *Puruṣa*. From *Buddhi*, which chiefly consists of *sattva*, is evolved *Ahaṁkāra*, whose function is to produce ego, which in its turn, produces the *manas*, the five *buddhīndriyas*, the five *karmendriyas*, and the five *tanmātras*. Mutual combination of the last forms the five *mahābhūtas*,—*prthvī*, *āp*, *tejas*, *vāyu* and *ākāśa*. These in all are the twenty-five *tattvas* of Sāṅkhya.³⁷

Next we come to the Great Epic, which betrays distinct influence of the *Upaniṣads* both in its thought and in its expression, and monism is a prominent feature of its teaching. The *Mahābhārata* being an encyclopaedia, the product of different periods and authors, naturally enough, there are to be found contradictions in it; both cosmic and acosmic conceptions are to be met with, and often, an account which begins with the one easily drifts into the other. The cosmic egg theory is found only in the popular

37. Cf. Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 330 ff.

accounts in the first verses of the epic; but at places this theory is refuted.³⁸ The *Mahābhārata* makes both *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*, aspects of the one Brahman. It accepts the Sāṅkhya enumeration of the elements; but it adds *Īśvara* as the twenty-sixth.³⁹ There is an attempt by the authors of the epic at producing some order and reconciliation in the variety of views as to cosmogony propounded in Vedic and Sāṅkhya sources by introducing some changes, by combining different notions, by inventing intermediate creators, successive creations and destructions, etc. Thus the epic Sāṅkhya reveals some important changes from the original Sāṅkhya philosophy; Dahlmann and Deussen, however, state that epic Sāṅkhya represents a preliminary state of speculation from which systematic Sāṅkhya was developed.⁴⁰

Cosmological speculations in the Great Epic do not seem to have ever won general acceptance as authoritative expositions of the subject. The cosmogonic accounts in the *Manusmṛiti*, however, appear to have gained firm footing, as parts of them are quoted in a great number of medieval works. In order, therefore, to illustrate the state of views on cosmogony prevailing before the time when the *Purāṇas* took their present shape, the *Manusmṛiti* may serve as a guide. The following is a brief sketch from the *Manusmṛiti*: "This (universe) existed in the shape of darkness unperceived, destitute of distinctive marks, unattainable by reasoning, unknowable, wholly immersed as it were in deep sleep.... He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters and placed his seed in them. That seed became a golden egg

38. Cf. Hopkins, *GEI*, p. 187.

39. *Mahābhārata*, XII. 309. 7 ff (Chitrashala Edn.); cf. Hopkins *op. cit.*, pp. 133 ff.

40. *Mahābhārata Studies*, II. "Die Sāṅkhya Philosophie," Berlin 1902. Deussen, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Part 3, p. 18.

equal to the sun in brilliancy; in that egg he himself was born as Brahmā, the progenitor of the whole world. . . . that divine one who resided in the egg divided it into two halves, from which he formed heaven and earth, and between them the middle sphere, the eight points of the horizon and the eternal abode of the waters. . . . Thence he drew forth the mind, the self-sense, and then the great principal soul and all products affected by the three qualities, and in their order the five organs which perceive the objects of sensation."⁴¹ To the waters was given the name "Nārā", because they were the off-spring of Nara; and because they were his first dwelling place, Brahmā is called Nārāyaṇa, which in later times was applied to Viṣṇu.⁴² There is yet another version of creation in the *Manusmṛti*.⁴³ Brahmā divided his own body into two: one half male and the other half female. With the female portion he produced Virāj. Manu is referred to as the Creator of the universe and as produced by Virāj. Once produced, Manu performed austerities, and thereby brought into being the ten Prajāpatis,⁴⁴ who in their turn, created seven other Manus and also gods and sages of boundless might, demons, etc. Thus it was that the whole creation, mobile and immobile, was brought into existence by the ten Prajāpatis by means of austerities. Bhṛgu supplies us with the third account of creation in the *Manusmṛti*.⁴⁵ He says that when the night of Brahmā is over, god awakes from sleep and once more

41. *Manusmṛti*, I. 5 ff. The account of creation given in *Manusmṛti*, I. 5-13, bears some resemblance to *SB*, XI. 1. 6. 1 ff.; cf. also, *Rigveda*, X. 129. 3; *Taitt. Brā.*, II. 8. 9. 4.

42. *Manusmṛti*, I. 10-11; cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I. 4. 6; *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, 47.5; *Varāha P.*, 2. 26.

43. *Manusmṛti*, I. 32 ff.

44. *Manusmṛti*, I. 35;

मरोचिमव्यतिरसौ पुलस्त्यं पुलहं ऋतुम् ।

प्रचेतसं वमिष्टं च भृगुं नारदमेव च ॥

45. *Manusmṛti*, I. 74 ff.

begins a fresh creation. First of all he creates *manas*. *Manas*, influenced by *Brahmā*'s desire to create, proceeds to create and *ākāśa* is produced. From it comes *vāyu*; from *vāyu*, *jyotiḥ* which dispels darkness; from *jyotiḥ*, *āpaḥ*; and from *āpaḥ*, *bhūmi*; in this way is the universe formed. In conclusion, it may be observed that Colebrooke is certainly right in asserting that we have in *Manu* the Purāṇik Sāṅkhya mixed up with the Vedānta.⁴⁶

Finally we come to the Purāṇas. Notwithstanding the research of nearly a century and a quarter, no substantial results in the domain of Purāṇic studies have so far been reached, nor tangible conclusions arrived at. No doubt fresh vigour is brought to bear on Purāṇic studies by the researches of Prof. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar of the University of Madras (who, unfortunately, passed away recently) and of Dr. R. C. Hazra of the Dacca University who has now settled in Calcutta, which have thrown valuable light on many a dark corner in the Purāṇas and have helped in the solution of some difficult problems connected with the Purāṇas.⁴⁷ Many misconceptions about the nature and contents of the Purāṇas still exist among the educated and cultured people of the present day, but it is beyond the scope of this paper to refer to or to refute them.

Though not as all-comprehensive and as encyclopaedic as the great *Mahābhārata*, the Purāṇas also aim at incorporating anything and everything in their text answering to यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यत्रेहास्ति न कुत्रचित् ।⁴⁸ The anxiety of the writers of the Purāṇas to make

46. *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, p. 249.

47. Cf. *Matrya Purāṇa—A Study. Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa and Purāṇa Index*, Vols. I-II, by Prof. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, and *Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* by Dr. R. C. Hazra, in addition to numerous papers contributed by both to various Oriental Journals.

48. *Mahābhārata*, XVIII. 5. 50 (Chitreshala Edn.).

their texts as all-inclusive as possible would be evident from the definitions of the Purāṇas themselves. Originally described as *Pañcalakṣaṇa*, later on ten characteristics came to be attached to the Purāṇas, and the *Bhāgavata* mentions itself as answering the *Daśalakṣaṇa* definition.⁴⁹ As is natural with such ambitious works like the *Mahābhārata*, which are the products of different periods and the compositions of different authors and whose aim is to include so many things, there are bound to be a number of inconsistencies and contradictions as also want of systematic arrangement.

In the following pages the scheme of cosmogony as presented by the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* will be briefly dealt with, and then reference will be made to the other Purāṇas. There are, it may be observed, no material differences in the cosmogonic accounts given by the Purāṇas. Many verbatim repetitions and echoes of previous teachings will be found in the Purāṇic account, to some of which references have been made in the footnotes.

Of the five topics proper to the Purāṇas, the first three, viz. *sarga*, *pratisarga* and *varāṇsa*, concern early religion and mythology, and the other two, viz. *manvantara* and *varāṇsānucarita*, deal with traditional history. In both groups are to be found later amplification, co-ordination and restatement. The first three being the general product of speculative thought were naturally shaped out and transmitted by religious teachers for general instruction.

49. *Bhāgavata P.*, XI. 7, 9-10; cf. also II. 9. 44; 10. 1.

सर्गोऽस्याय विसर्गश्च कृत्तौ रक्षान्तराणि च ।

वंशो वंशानुचरितं संस्था हेतुरपाश्रयः ॥ ११-३-९ ॥

दशनिर्लक्षणैर्युक्तं पुराणं तद्विदो विदुः ।

केचित्सञ्चविधं ब्रह्मन् महदल्पव्यवस्थया ॥ १० ॥

According to the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, the self-existent Brahman is Vāsudeva;⁵⁰ he is originally and essentially but one, still he exists in three successively proceeding forms, Puruṣa, Pradhāna and Kāla the last acting as the connecting bond for the former two. Pradhāna produces Mahān or Buddhi when the Supreme Deity enters Puruṣa and Pradhāna. Buddhi produces Ahaṁkāra; and so are produced the five subtle elements, the gross elements and the eleven organs much in the same way as is taught in the Sāṅkhya philosophy. But the Purāṇas teach, in addition to the evolutionary theory, that each generating principle or element envelopes the one generated by it.⁵¹ The gross elements combine into a compact mass, the Brahmāṇḍa, which rests on the waters, and is surrounded by seven envelopes—water, wind, fire, air, *ahaṁkāra*, *buddhi* and *pradhāna*. In the Brahmāṇḍa, the highest deity which is invested with the *guṇa* activity, appeared in the form of Brahmā, and created all things. The same deity in the *guṇa sattva*, preserves, as Viṣṇu, the universe till the end of a Kalpa, when the same god in the awful form of Rudra destroys it. Then is described the raising of the earth from beneath the waters by Nārāyaṇa in the form of a boar, and the creation of earth, sky, heaven and *maharloka*.

Another account follows giving a description of nine creations.⁵² To Brahmā, in the beginning of the Kalpas, whilst he was meditating on creation, there appeared a creation beginning with ignorance and consisting of darkness. From that great being there appeared five-fold ignorance, and subsequently he produced animal creation, *ūrdhvasrotas* and *arvāksrotas*. This is known as the first creation or the creation of Brahmā, i.e., the evolution of *mahat*. From this was evo-

50. *Viṣṇu P.*, I. 2; cf. with Sāṅkhya Philosophy.

51. Cf. *Viṣṇu P.*, I. 2. 37 ff.

52. *Viṣṇu P.*, I. 5.

lved *ahamkāra*, and from this the five subtle elements (*tanmātras*)—*śabda*, *sparsa*, *rūpa*, *rasa* and *gandha* which became manifest respectively as the five *bhūtas*, *ākāśa*, *vāyu*, *tejas*, *ambhas* and *prthvī*.⁵³ This was the second stage, the *Bhūta Sarga*. In the next stage, the five *karmendriyas*, the five *jñānendriyas* and the mind proceeded from the intellectual principle (*buddhi*). These three stages were *Prākṛta Sarga* (creation from *Prakṛti*). All these principles and elements through the influence of *Puruṣa* combined and formed an egg, *Brahmāṇḍa*, wherein, assuming the *rajas guṇa*, he became active. *Brahmā* next brought into existence this world, which represents the fourth creation; and later through meditation originated fifthly, the animal kingdom, sixthly the gods, seventhly mankind, eighthly the intellectual notions called *anugraha*, and ninthly *Sanatkumāra* and other semi-divine mind-born sons who remained celibate whence this creation is called *Kaumāra*. In all these, the three *guṇas* existed in different states of predominance. The first three *sargas*, as already stated, were called *Prākṛta*, the next five were known as *Vaikṛta*, and the last one, the ninth, was the *Kaumāra*.⁵⁴

In general, it may be stated that the scheme of the primary creation is taken from the *Sāṅkhya*; but other systems such as the theory of illusion of the *Vedānta*, the doctrine of pantheism, etc., are also found side by side. *Viṣṇu* is stated to be not only *Puruṣa* but *Pradhāna* also, and in addition, *Vyakta*

53. According to this notion, the elements add their characteristic to the preceding creation; thus, *ākāśa* has the property of sound, air has those of touch and sound, and so on. Cf. *Viṣṇu P.*, I. 2, 37-44.

54. Cf. *Viṣṇu P.*, I. 5, 24-25:

पञ्चैते वैकुंठाः सर्गाः प्राकृतास्तु त्रयः स्मृताः ।

प्राकृतो वैकुण्ठश्चैव कोमारो नवमः स्मृतः ॥

इत्येते वै समाख्याता नवसर्गाः प्रजापतैः ।

and Kāla.⁵⁵ The *Śaiva Purāṇas* call the Supreme Being Śiva, and ascribe all these attributes to him. After the world was fit for living creatures it was peopled by the *mānasa* sons of Brahmā, by Prajāpatis and their posterity.

In another account it is stated that Brahmā assumed four different forms in succession and from them were produced the demons, the gods, the fore-fathers and mankind.⁵⁶ And afterwards assuming another form he produced from his limbs all other living beings, creatures and vegetation. But those beings did not multiply, and he created from his mind sons⁵⁷ known as Ṛsis and also deities called Rudras. Saptarṣis among these sons hold a unique and permanent position in cosmogony. The Rudras are generally identified with Śiva. Next, Brahmā created the first Manu Svāyambhuva and a woman Śatarūpā. These two had two sons, Priyavrata and Uttānapāda, and a daughter. Dakṣa married her and had twenty-four daughters, of whom thirteen were married to Dharma and bore love and other personified feelings; ten were married to the other mind-born sons, and Agni and the fore-fathers, and one named Satī became Śiva's consort. But this account is all the more complicated by a further story that Dakṣa was reborn in Uttānapāda's lineage as Dakṣa Prācetasā, and then created movable and immovable things, bipeds and quadrupeds, and also begot sixty daughters of whom ten were married to Dharma, thirteen to Marīci's son Kaśyapa, twenty-seven to the moon, and ten to others.

55. *Viṣṇu P.*, I. 2. 18: व्यक्तं विष्णुस्तथाव्यक्तं पुरुषः काल एव च ।

56. *Viṣṇu P.*, I. 5. 31 ff.

57. About the names and number of these mind-born sons the *Purāṇas* do not agree; their number is variously given as 7, 9, 10 or 11. The *Mahābhārata* contains the original enumeration of 7; the *Vāyu P.*, of 8; *Viṣṇu P.*, *Padma P.*, *Bhāgavata P.*, *Līṅga P.*, *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, have their number as 9; the *Matsya P.*, *Bhāgavata P.*, have 10; cf. KIRFEL, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*. Intr.

Then Kaśyapa by his wives begot the gods, good and evil beings, animals, birds and trees; and thenceforward living creatures were engendered sexually.

The preceding extracts from the *Viṣṇu* and other Purāṇas give some idea of the heterogeneous character of the cosmogonic theory which generally prevailed in the succeeding epochs. Mythological and theosophic notions of the Vedic period have been combined with later notions such as the genealogical legends, the evolutionary theory of Sāṅkhya, and the Kalpa theory, in order to show a harmonized scheme. In effect, however, the scheme leaves the impression of disparate parts, ill-combined or only formally united.

Without entering into details as to the relative chronology of different Purāṇas, it may be stated here that the *Viṣṇu*, *Brahma*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāyu*, *Garuḍa*, *Padma* and *Varāha* Purāṇas represent the earliest account of cosmogony as their primitive egg-theory, Saptarṣis, etc. remind us of the *Brāhmaṇa* literature, though some of the texts, no doubt, replace the world-egg theory by the Sāṅkhya theory. Saptarṣis are later changed to nine and then to ten in later Purāṇas. The *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Kūrma* form a transitional stage, and portions of the *Matsya* contain later traces.⁵⁸

According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the only god Janārdana takes the designation of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, according as he creates, preserves or destroys.⁵⁹ This, as has already been observed, is the invariable doctrine of the Purāṇas, the only difference being in styling the creator in accordance with the sectarian zeal. Thus, e.g., whereas the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas would credit Viṣṇu with creation, the Śaiva Purāṇas would bring in Śiva for the same effect; the *Brahmaivaivarta* calls in the aid of Kṛṣṇa for the same

58. Cf. Kirtel, *op. cit.*, pp. xxviii ff.

59. *Viṣṇu P.*, I. 2. 63 ff.

purpose. On the whole there is a general agreement with regard to cosmogonic accounts in the Purāṇas.

The *Manusmṛti* differs from the Sāṅkhya in that it does not hold a duality of First Principles. The Purāṇas, however, are still different, in which, as may already have been noted by readers, the dualistic principles are united in Brahmā and are not evolutions therefrom but so many aspects of some supreme deity. The world is neither an emanation nor an illusion according to the Purāṇas but is regarded as consubstantial with its first cause.

Now to give a very short account about cosmogony in the other Purāṇas: The *Brāhma* deals with the creation of the world, birth of the primeval man Manu and his descendants, origin of gods, demi-gods and other beings. The *Saura Purāṇa*, which claims to be a *khila* (supplement) of the *Brāhma Purāṇa*, takes up an intermediate position between the orthodox systems regarding cosmogony: on the one hand Śiva is explained as the Ātman in accordance with the Vedānta, and on the other hand, the creation from Prakṛti is explained as in the Sāṅkhya. The *Padma Purāṇa* assumes the highest Brahman in the form of the personal god Brahmā as the first cause. The Purāṇa, however, is Vaiṣṇava in character and the chapters dealing with cosmogony mostly follow the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. In the *Prakriyā Pāda* of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* the elemental creation and the first evolutions of beings are described to the same purport as the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, but in a more obscure and unmethodical style. The cosmogonic myths of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* agree on the whole with those of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, but in some interesting details are different from it. The cosmogony of the *Bhāgavata* is more largely intermixed with allegory and mysticism, and derives its tone more from the Vedānta than the Sāṅkhya philosophy. The doctrine of active creation

by the Supreme as one with Vāsudeva is more distinctly asserted with a more decided enunciation of the effects being resolved into Māyā or illusion. In the *Bṛhannārāḍīya Purāṇa* the creation of the world is not touched upon. The *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa* treats of creation; but it is a transcript of the words of the first chapter of the *Manusmṛti*. To turn to the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, we find that it describes the creation as by Brahman, the First Being who is none other than the god Kṛṣṇa. In the account as given by the *Līṅga Purāṇa*, Śiva occupies the position which is otherwise ascribed to Viṣṇu, and is described as being praised by Viṣṇu and Brahmā. The *Kūrma Purāṇa* gives the account of creation, of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, etc., in a summary manner, but mostly in the words employed in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. The *Varāha*, *Vāmana*, *Garuḍa* and other *Purāṇas* merely refer in brief to creation generally on the lines of the other *Purāṇas*.

Cosmogony in the *Purāṇas* in the form in which they have come down to us is on the whole a later development of the systems as presented in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Manusmṛti*, which in their turn draw much upon the previous thinkers. Here too the evolutionary theory of Sāṅkhya has been so modified as to agree with the Vedānta doctrine about the oneness of Brahman by assuming that *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* are but two forms of the Supreme Deity who is identified with one of the popular gods according to the particular sectarian type of the work.⁶⁰

60. I have acknowledged my indebtedness and given references in footnotes at proper places. I may, however, record here my indebtedness in general to the articles by Parziter and Jacobi in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, the translation of the *Vishnu Purāṇa* by Wilson, *History of Indian Literature* (Eng. Tr.) by Winternitz, and *Histories of Indian Philosophy* by Das Gupta, Hiriyanra, and Radhakrishnan.

CHAPTER II

WERE THE PURĀṆAS ORIGINALLY IN PRAKRIT?

In the introduction to his *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Pargiter observes with regard to the Purāṇas that "It is highly probable that they consisted at first mainly of ancient stories, genealogies, ballads, etc., which formed the popular side of ancient literature, and were quite probably in Prakrit originally", which he calls "an old literary Prakrit used by the higher classes."¹ These were Sanskritized later on by converting Prakrit words into Sanskrit and by substituting the future for the past tense without violating the metre, as also by dropping words, inserting compensatory expletives and recasting the sentence occasionally.² He mentions the following six peculiarities as supporting his inference, offering proof in Appendix I of the same book: "first, certain passages violate the śloka metre, whereas in Prakrit form they would satisfy the metre; secondly, certain Prakrit forms actually occur, especially where they are actually required by the metre, which the corresponding Sanskrit forms would violate; thirdly, Sanskrit words occur at times in defiance of syntax, whereas the corresponding Prakrit forms would make the construction correct; fourthly, mistaken Sanskritization of names and words; fifthly the copious use of expletive particles; sixthly, irregular Sandhi."³

Before meeting these arguments it is worth considering Pargiter's well-known theory of Brahmin and Kṣatriya tradition, of which the above inference comes as a natural corollary, since the Kṣatriya or popular tradition, before being taken over

1. p. xvii, n. 2.

2. op. cit., p. xviii.

3. Op. cit., p. 77.

by the Brahmins, was in the language of the people, the Prakrit.⁴ This theory on which rests the superstructure of the inference of Prakrit origin, however, is untenable on account of a number of reasons, which are briefly indicated here. In the first place, there have never been in India, two such water-tight compartments as the Brāhmaṇa tradition and the Kṣatriya tradition. Even in the works distinctly assigned to Kṣatriya tradition by Pargiter, we find the glorification of the Brāhmaṇas, and the so-called Brahmanic literature abounds in Kṣatriya legends. There has always been a Kṣatriya king and a Brāhmaṇa Guru; and some stray quarrels between individual kings and their priests do not warrant the inference of a fight between the Church and the State, which European scholars are always prone to draw on the analogy of similar eternal quarrels in their own country. The Purāṇas themselves assign a comparatively small portion to genealogical accounts,—the genuine Kṣatriya tradition according to Pargiter. The Purāṇas, moreover, follow the Vedic religion, and pride in styling themselves the fifth Veda; and entirely ignore, as stated by Prof. Dikshitar, non-Vedic sects as Buddhism and Jainism.⁵ The so-called Kṣatriya texts, viz. the epics and the Purāṇas, are equally Brahmanic compilations like the *Samhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas*, etc. Further, as observed by Prof. Keith, the earliest reference to Purāṇas is for a point of Brahmanical lore and not for a point of genealogy or history, which would have been the case had Pargiter's view regarding the Kṣatriya origin of the Purāṇas been correct;⁶ other early references also relate to similar matters. It is thus clear that there was no such thing as the distinct Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya tradition.

4. *AIHT*, pp. 5-14.

5. *IHQ*, VIII, p. 758.

6. *JRAS*, 1914, p. 1027.

Now to turn to the grounds cited by Pargiter in support of his thesis. It may be observed at the outset, that even accepting all the grounds to be valid and proved, they are not sufficient to postulate the existence of originals in Prakrit. In the first place, they relate only to the genealogical portions, which occupy but a small part of the bulky mass the Purāṇas contain. The number of instances quoted in support of each of the grounds is quite disproportionate to the total number of stanzas these accounts include. One would have expected a stronger and an all-pervasive evidence to support even a *prima facie* case. The evidence brought forward by Pargiter is not sufficient to warrant the inference.

The arguments put forth can be met satisfactorily. The first two relate to metrics, and the next two to grammar. With regard to the violation of metre, Pargiter has apparently started with the assumption that strict metrical rules must be observed in genealogies. Authors of genealogies were not chiefly concerned with metrical niceties, and similar metrical lapses are found in other portions of the Purāṇas as well. As regards the other part of the argument that Prakritic forms satisfy the metre in the instances cited, Dr. Keith has shown that a critical examination of these forms proves them not to be Prakritic forms at all.⁷ Concerning the arguments showing grammatical irregularities, it is to be observed that they are better explained on the supposition that they are due to the influence of popular speech which accounts for these quasi-Prakritisms, than by supposing that Prakrit originals have been deliberately translated into Sanskrit. Influence of Prakritic tendency is found even in Vedic texts, which naturally persisted in later ritual texts, epics and the Purāṇas. Irregularities regarding the use of numerals find their

7. JRAS, 1914, pp. 1027-1928.

counterparts even in pre-classical Sanskrit texts. On the contrary, as shown by Dr. Keith, the theory becomes inexplicable when it is seen that the *Matsya*, the older version even according to Pargiter, is found to have correct numeral expressions, while the later *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* have ungrammatical words.⁸ In such cases as *ekachatra* for *ekakṣatra*, the Prakritic influence, as rightly observed by Dr. Keith, is only that of some transcribers, not a sign of Prakrit original.⁹ The fifth argument (which relates to the use of too numerous expletives which has been explained as due to the transmutation of the Prakrit past tense into future) can be explained in part by stating that these portions do not profess to be specimens of good poetry. In the second place, what would appear to Englishmen as too profuse use of the expletives or the so-called verse fillers appears as quite normal to the Indians; and in fact forms a feature of classical Sanskrit poetry. The last argument regarding irregular and double Sandhis has been answered by Dr. Keith by stating that they are simply instances of careless Sanskrit, which are not rare in Sanskrit.¹⁰ It may also be stated that similar lapses are found in other parts of the Purāṇas as well. Hence, all the arguments having been satisfactorily answered, it is quite unnecessary to postulate the original composition of the Purāṇas in Prakrit.

Another objection to the inference of the existence of Prakrit originals for the Purāṇas is the fact that at the period preceding that of Āpastamba, when we get reference to a Purāṇa, there is no record of any literary Prakrit. The theory thus requires the assumption of the existence of some form of literary Prakrit in the fifth century B.C. to render it plausible. Further, as Jacobi says,¹¹ such a revolutionary

8. *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 1028-1029.

10. *JRAS*, 1914, p. 1030.

9. *JRAS*, 1914, p. 1029.

11. *ZDMG*, 48, pp. 407ff.

literary transformation (of Prakrit originals into Sanskrit) would scarcely have passed unnoticed in the whole range of Indian literature, had it been a real fact. Again, in the development of the Purāṇas (into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter at present) we nowhere come across any Prakrit stage at an early date. The Prakrit influence as such pertains to a later period. With reference to the Prakritic names current in the vernacular such as Rādhā and Āyān, Dr. Chatterji considers them as a strong evidence for the antiquity of some of the features of the Kṛṣṇa legend despite the silence of the Purāṇas about them.¹² He places them as far back as the sixth century A.D. In the absence of any critical edition of the Purāṇas it is most hazardous to draw chronological deductions from linguistic data. As there is no relevant material available, it cannot be definitely stated at what particular epoch the Prakrit influence was at work.

It is interesting in this connection to note the similar case of the *Mahābhārata* as it also belongs to the so-called Kṣatriya tradition, and scholars like Grierson actually contended that the epic was originally composed in Prakrit.¹³ The same arguments are applicable in both cases. As the epics and the Purāṇas were intended to cater for the general public, to instruct them and to make a popular appeal, it was but inevitable that there should be an influence of popular speech both on the composers and transmitters of the tradition. With regard to the metrical irregularities in the *Mahābhārata*, Prof. Hopkins has attributed them to the influence of popular speech,¹⁴ which can with equal justice be applied to the case of the Purāṇas as well.

12. BSOS, VIII, pp. 457-466.

13. Cf. Grierson, *Indian Epic Poetry*, IA, XXIII, pp. 52-56.

14. GEI, pp. 260-266.

Thus on the analogy of the *Mahābhārata*, and in view of the facts shown above, it seems safe to conclude that there is no basis for postulating the existence of the Purāṇas originally in Prakrit. The so-called Prakritisms are, as already indicated, a late phase, due to the influence of popular speech on the transmitters and transcribers of the Purāṇas who had to instruct the general public.

CHAPTER III

VĀYU PURĀṆA VERSUS ŚIVA PURĀṆA

Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasāda Śāstri observes with regard to the list of eighteen Purāṇas given in almost all the Purāṇas that MSS being rare in ancient times, copyists collected all sorts of information in their copy, which was subsequently transferred from marginal notes to the body of the text.¹ This satisfactorily explains how individual Purāṇas which are obviously products of different times and climes came to contain the names of all the Purāṇas, especially of those which came into vogue later on. Now, there is a difference of opinion among the lists regarding the fourth place in the Purāṇas, some mentioning the Śiva, and others the Vāyu. To be exact, the *Bhāgavata*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Kūrma*, *Līṅga*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Padma*, *Varāha* and *Viṣṇu* cast their vote in favour of the Śiva, while the *Matsya*, *Nārada* and *Devībhāgavata* vote for the Vāyu.² It is proposed to investigate the claims of the Śiva and Vāyu to be ranked as Mahāpurāṇa.

At present there are two distinct works going respectively under the names of Śiva Purāṇa and Vāyu Purāṇa. The former has been published by the Venkateswar Press, Bombay,³ and the latter in the Biblio-

1. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS* . . . Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, p. lxxxv.
2. *Bhāgavata*, XII. 7. 23ff; *Brahmavaivarta*, III. 133. 14ff; *Kūrma*, I. 1. 13ff; *Līṅga*, I. 36. 61ff; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 137. 8ff; *Padma*, I. 62. 2ff; IV. III. 50ff; &c.; *Varāha*, 112. 74ff; *Viṣṇu*, III. 6. 21ff; *Agni*, 272. 4ff; *Matsya*, 53. 18; *Nārada*, I. 95. Majority of votes, as aptly observed by Dr. Winternitz, does not matter much in such inquiries (CR, Dec. 1924, p. 330). From the above, it appears that the majority is in favour of the Śiva. Under the circumstances it is rather surprising to find that Prof. Dikshitar states that "the majority of the Purāṇas agree that the Vāyu Purāṇa is a Mahāpurāṇa" (*Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa*, Madras, 1933, p. 2).
3. *Saṁvat* 1982, Śaka 1947.

theca Indica and the Anandasrama Series, both editions being practically identical.⁴ The printed *Śiva Purāṇa* is divided into seven *Samhitās*, the *Vāyaviya* being the seventh, and contains about twenty-four thousand *Ślokas*. The *Vāyaviya Samhitā* claims to be proclaimed by *Vāyu* and covers only four thousand *Ślokas*;⁵ the *Vāyu*, on the other hand, contains four parts and has twelve thousand *Ślokas*. In view of these facts, identity of the two works is clearly out of question. It is to be noted, however, that some descriptive *Ślokas* about the *Purāṇas* in different works state that the *Vāyu* is known as the *Śaiva* as it supports devotion to *Śiva*,⁶ and some MSS of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* read समाप्तं चेदं वायुपुराणं शिवापरह्वयम् at their colophon.⁷ This explains to a certain extent the confusion arising about the *Vāyu* being the *Śiva Purāṇa*. But it is clear that there is no doubt as to the *Vāyu*, alternatively known as *Śiva*, being quite distinct from the *Śiva Purāṇa*. The only ground for the association of the *Śiva Purāṇa* with the *Vāyu Purāṇa* is the fact that its last *Samhitā*, the *Vāyaviya Samhitā*, is stated to have been declared by *Vāyu* at the occasion of the *Śveta-kalpa*. Whatever the basis for the confusion, the fact stands that the *Śiva Purāṇa* and the *Vāyu Purāṇa* are two distinct *Purāṇas*.

The number of *Mahāpurāṇas* being restricted by tradition to eighteen, both *Śiva* and *Vāyu* cannot be included in the number. Dr. Farquhar, however, has

4. Calcutta, 1880-1889; Poona, 1905.

5. Cf. *Śiva Purāṇa*, 1, 2, 48-55; the *Vāyaviya Samhitā* itself of the *Śiva Purāṇa* speaks of a *Śaiva Purāṇa* with 12 *Samhitās* and 100,000 stanzas (1. 1. 45-65). But this *Śaiva* is not available and it cannot be included in the *Mahāpurāṇas* as it would considerably swell the total number of verses of the *Purāṇas* which is stated to be 400,000.

6. Cf. *Revāmāhātmya*: शिवमन्त्रिसमायोगात् शैवं तच्चापरह्वयम् । Bālabhāṭṭa in his commentary on the *Mitākṣarī*, p. 7, identifies the *Śiva* with the *Vāyu* (Kale, *Purāṇa-nirṇaya*, p. 62).

7. Cf. Nos. 3587, 3588, 3589, 3595 in Eggeling's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Library of the India Office*, Part VI.

raised the number to twenty by including not only both the Śiva and Vāyu but also the *Harivaṁśa*,⁸ but there is no support either from tradition or from any other source for such a view. The *Kūrma* incorporates both the Śiva and Vāyu in its list, but the list appears to be defective as it omits the Agni which has been unanimously included in the Mahāpurāṇas by all the lists.⁹ As both Vāyu and Śiva cannot find a place in the Mahāpurāṇas one of them will have to be ruled out.

We shall first gather whatever particulars about the fourth Mahāpurāṇa (Śiva or Vāyu) we get from the Anukramaṇis, and see how far they apply to either of the texts known to us. It may be observed at the outset that much reliance cannot be placed on these Anukramaṇis as they are products of a comparatively late period, not earlier than the eleventh century A.D. The *Nārāḍīya Purāṇa* states:¹⁰ "The Vāyu Purāṇa

8. ORLI, p. 139.

9. So, Chaudhury, *JBORS*, XV, pp. 183-184, and Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 2. The list given in the Venkatesvara Ed. of the *Kūrma* (I 1. 14), however, includes the Agni; that list raises another major problem about the relation between the Vāyu and the *Brahmāṇḍa* which, being beyond the scope of the present paper, will be dealt with separately.

10. Venkateśvara Ed., I. 95. 1-16:

शृणु विप्र प्रवक्ष्यामि पुराणं वायव्यकम् ।
यस्मिन् श्रुते लभेदाम रुद्रस्य परमात्मनः ॥ १ ॥
चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रं तत्पुराणं प्रकीर्तितम् ।
श्वेतकल्पप्रसंगेन धर्मान्वाह मास्तः ॥ २ ॥
तद्वायवीयमुदितं भागद्वयसमाचितम् ।
सर्गादिलक्षणं यत्र प्रोक्तं विप्र सविस्तरम् ॥ ३ ॥
मन्वन्तरेषु वंशादत्र राजां ये यत्र कीर्तिताः ।
गयाभुरस्य हननं विस्तराद्यत्र कीर्तितम् ॥ ४ ॥
मासानां चैव माहात्म्यं माघस्योक्तं फलाधिकम् ।
दानधर्मा राजधर्मा विस्तरेणोदितास्तथा ॥ ५ ॥
भूप तालककुब्जोमचारिणां यत्र निर्णयः ।
व्रतादीनां च पूर्वोक्तं विभागः समुदाहृतः ॥ ६ ॥

contains twenty-four thousand Ślokas; it has been declared by Vāyu in connection with the Śvetakalpa; and it has two parts. The Pūrva Bhāga contains in detail the Sarga, Vamśa, Manvantara as also the story of Gayāsura, and Māsamāhātmya, Dānadharma, Rājadharmā, Vratas, etc. The Uttarabhāga deals with Revā (Narmadā) Māhātmya and Śiva-Māhātmya.¹¹ The Revāmāhātmya supplies the following particulars:¹² "The Vāyu has twenty-four thousand Ślokas; it contains Śivamāhātmya in the first part and Revāmāhātmya in the second." The *Matsya* simply states that in it are proclaimed various religious practices by Vāyu in connection with the Śvetakalpa, it has twenty-four thousand Ślokas, and contains Rudramāhātmya.¹³ Before proceeding to apply these characteristics to the two works under consideration, it is worth while comparing all these statements among themselves. The only points about which all these accounts are unanimous are that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* has twenty-four thousand stanzas, has two parts and was

उत्तरे तस्य भागे तु नर्मदातीर्थवर्णनम् ।
 शिवस्य संहितोक्ता वै विस्तेरण मनीश्वर ॥ ७ ॥
 संहितेयं महापुण्या शिवस्य परमात्मनः ।
 नर्मदाचरितं यत्र वायुना परिकीर्तितम् ॥ १६ ॥

11. *Revāmāhātmya*:

पुराणं यन्मयोक्तं हि चतुर्थं वायुसंज्ञितम् ।
 चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रं शिवमाहात्म्यसंयुतम् ॥
 महिमानं शिवस्याह पूर्वं पाराशरः पुरा ।
 अपराद्धे तु रेवामा माहात्म्यमतुलं मुने ॥
 पुराणेषूत्तमं प्राहुः पुराणं वायुनोदितम् ।
 शिवभक्तिसमायोगात्त्रामद्वयविभूषितम् ॥

12. *Matsya*, 53. 18:

श्वेतकल्पप्रसङ्गेन धर्मान्वायुरिहाब्रवीत् ।
 यत्र तद्वायवीयं स्याद्वद्माहात्म्यसंयुतम् ॥
 चतुर्विंशत्सहस्राणि पुराणं तदिहोच्यते ॥

declared by Vāyu in connection with the Śvetakalpa. The description as given in the Revāmāhātmya does not support the *Nāradiya Purāṇa* in maintaining that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* contained Sarga, Manvantara, etc. (the five characteristics of the Purāṇas), the Gayāsura episode, etc; both, however, agree that Revāmāhātmya forms the second part. The probable explanation for such contradictions seems to be that the writers of the Anukramaṇīs had different texts, the Anukramaṇīs themselves being quite late, and none of the texts these writers had before them has survived in its entirety. So, much caution is required before pronouncing against the genuineness of any Purāṇa on the testimony of these Anukramaṇīs alone.

Now, coming first to the *Śiva Purāṇa*, we find that it is the *Vāyaviya Samhitā* alone of the work that is proclaimed by Vāyu in connection with the Śvetakalpa, and has two parts.¹³ The whole Purāṇa is not proclaimed by Vāyu, and hence on this simple ground alone, the whole work cannot be docketed as *Vāyaviya Purāṇa*. It, no doubt, preaches the greatness of Śiva, and also has sections on Dānadharma, etc., as stated in the *Nāradiya*; but there is no Gayāsura episode, no Revāmāhātmya, nor are there to be found chapters dealing with Sarga, Manvantara, etc. MSS of Revāmāhātmya are never found included in the MSS of either the *Śiva* or the *Vāyu*; they are always separately available and the colophon reads: वायुपुराणान्तर्गतेवा-
माहात्म्य.¹⁴

13. Cf. *Vāyaviya Samhitā*, 1. 1. 22-23:

वक्ष्यामि परमं पुण्यं पुराणं वेदसम्मितम् ।
शिवज्ञानार्णवं साक्षाद्भक्तिभक्तिफलप्रदम् ॥
शब्दार्थन्यायसंपूक्तैरागमार्थैर्विभूषितम् ।
श्वेतकल्पप्रसंगेन वायुना कथितं पुरा ॥

14. Cf. Eggeling, *op. cit.*, Nos. 3595, 3596.

Supporters of the claims of the *Śiva Purāṇa* to be ranked as a Mahāpurāṇa base their evidence not only on the statements of the Purāṇa itself¹⁵ but on the fact that a quotation given by Śrīdhara Svāmin in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as from *Vāyaviya*¹⁶ is found in the *Śiva Purāṇa*.¹⁷ Not much reliance can be placed on the self-laudations of the Purāṇa, nor on the preliminary stanzas about the creation of the worlds, etc., bearing resemblance to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, appended to the *Vāyaviya Saṁhitā*; for they are quite out of place in the context in the *Śiva Purāṇa*. The Purāṇa, as we shall show later on, belongs to quite a late date showing profound sectarian bias, and the author has incorporated stanzas proving not only its antiquity but conformity with the descriptions in the Anukramanīs. With reference to the quotation from Śrīdhara Svāmin, it can at best prove that in the thirteenth century A.D. the *Śiva Purāṇa* was known in the South as the *Vāyaviya (Saṁhitā)*, and had the same text as we have now. Mr. Chaudhury suggests as a possible explanation the probability of the *Śiva* completely eclipsing the *Vāyu* in the thirteenth-fourteenth century,—the period of Śrīdhara Svāmin—and people taking the *Vāyaviya Saṁhitā* to mean the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.¹⁸ The evidence of Nibandha-writers, however, runs counter to this theory, as they always quote from the *Vāyu* in preference to the *Śiva*,¹⁹ and they pertain

15. Cf. *Śiva Purāṇa*, I. 2; VII. 1; etc.

16. Śrīdhara Svāmin on *Bhāgavata*, I. 1. 4:

तथा च वायवीये,
एतन्मनोरमं चक्रं मया मृष्टं विसृज्यते ।
यत्रास्य शीर्यते नेमिः स देशस्तपनः शुभः ॥

17. *Vāyaviya Saṁhitā*, I. 2, 88.

18. *JBORS*, XV, p. 189.

19. Cf. Hazra, *Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 14.

to the same period during which the *Vāyu Purāṇa* is supposed to have gone out of currency. It may also be noted in this connection that though the *Vāyu Purāṇa* does not contain the exact quotation as given by Śrīdhara, it has a stanza sufficiently indicating a variant text.²⁰ So it is more plausible to suppose that Śrīdhara Svāmin had before him another version of the present *Vāyu* text. Then again, the number of Ślokas of the traditional *Śiva Mahāpurāṇa* (viz. 100,000), which is not available, will make the total number of stanzas of the *Purāṇas* more than 400,000. The number of stanzas of the portion of the printed *Śiva* that can strictly be called *Vāyaviya* is only about 4,000 as against the 24,000 given by the *Anukramanīs*. Thus we see that the description is not applicable to the printed *Śiva Purāṇa*.

To turn next to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, the number of stanzas is only 12,000 in the printed text. There is clear MS evidence to support the division of the *Purāṇa* in two parts.²¹ It has all the five characteristics²² of the *Purāṇa* as required by the *Nāradya* description; but, as observed earlier, *Revāmāhātmya* is not found as part of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* but is separately available, and *Gayāmāhātmya* is available in the second part not in the first as stated by the *Nāradya*. It declares the greatness of *Śiva* no doubt. As regards the objection that the *Vāyu* is not connected with the *Śvetakalpa* but with the *Varāha-*

20. *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Anandasrama Ed.), 2, 8:

समस्तो धर्मचक्रस्य यत्र नेमिरशोयंत ।
कर्मणा तेन विख्यातं नेमिषं मुनिपुजितम् ॥

21. Cf. Eggeling, *op cit.*, No. 3587 (fol. 220a):

इति श्रीवायुप्रोक्ते प्रजापतिवंगानुकीर्तनं नाम प्रथमं खंडं समाप्तं ।

22. Cf. *Sarga* and *Pratisarga* in chs. 1, 3, 4, 102; *Vārha* and *Vārhaśānucarita* in chs. 29ff, 33, 66ff; and *Manvantaras* in chs. 21, 57, 68, 84ff, 99.

kalpa, Dr. Hazra tries to meet it on the ground that there are indirect references to the Śvetakalpa in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.²³ With regard to the number of stanzas it seems plausible that in the days of the Anukramanīs the text of the *Vāyu* had the Revāmāhātmya and other Māhātmyas forming the latter half, totalling 24,000 stanzas in all. MS evidence also seems to favour the view that there were some texts of the *Vāyu* which included Revāmāhātmya in the Uttarārḍha, as it declares the present text to be the first part containing 12,000²⁴ stanzas. Thus the printed text answers, to a certain extent, the particulars of the first part of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* as given by the Anukramanī writers. The only material difference concerns the number of stanzas, and the likely explanation seems to be that during quite late times, the Revāmāhātmya was separated from the *Vāyu* MSS and was designated as वायुपुराणान्तर्गत.²⁵

It is thus seen that none of the descriptive particulars applies *in toto* to either of our texts; but the

23. Hazra, *op. cit.*, p. 14, n. 15.

24. Cf. MS No. XLI. B. 18 from the Adyar Library, which I had taken on loan. The colophon reads:

इति श्रीमहापुराण वायुप्रोक्ते द्वादशसाहस्र्यां संहितायां ब्रह्माण्डावर्त
समाप्तं । . . .

समाप्तं वायुपुराणपूर्वाद्धेम । अतः परं रेवामाहात्म्यं प्रविष्यति ।

All MSS, however, are unanimous in calling the *Vāyu Purāṇa* as द्वादशसाहस्र्यो संहिता. MS No. 3599 in Eggeling's Catalogue ends:

इति श्रीवायुपुराणे लक्ष्मोत्संहितायां आनन्दकाननमाहात्म्ये . . . It thus appears that there were some Samhitās of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* which are not found included in the MSS of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.

25. Internal evidence records the earlier tradition about the *Vāyu Purāṇa* which states that it consisted of 12,000 stanzas (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, Anandasrama Ed., 32. 66: एवं द्वादशसाहस्रं पुराणं कवयो विदुः ।) thus ruling out the Revāmāhātmya and going against the Anukramanī descriptions altogether. Taking stand on the Anukramanīs, it can be said that during their period, the *Vāyu* text was a bulky volume covering 24,000 stanzas and included Revāmāhātmya and Rudramāhātmya.

Vāyu Purāṇa answers the description in major particulars and hence is eligible for being included in the list of the Mahāpurāṇas especially as it possesses the characteristics of a Mahāpurāṇa which are absent in the *Śiva Purāṇa*.²⁶

Apart from these considerations there are independent grounds, both positive and negative, internal and external, to show the applicability of the characteristics of a Mahāpurāṇa in the case of the *Vāyu* and its antiquity, and lateness and non-Mahāpurāṇa character of the *Śiva Purāṇa*.²⁷ In the first place, the *Śiva* has been ranked by some texts as an *Upapurāṇa*; the *Vāyu* has never been so classed²⁸ showing thereby that the Mahāpurāṇa character of the *Vāyu* was never challenged. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* has been assigned the oldest date among the Purāṇas by all Purāṇic scholars beginning with Professor H. H. Wilson. Mr. Chaudhury brings in the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* to show the antiquity and genuineness of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.²⁹ The passage states that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* deals with the past and future (अतीतानगत) i.e. genealogies. It is to be noted in this connection that the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, as printed in the Bibliotheca Indica or the Ananda-srama Series, contains not only chapters on genealogies, but the text of the *Vāyu* has been proclaimed to be the oldest with regard to genealogies

26. Though strictly speaking the title Vāyaviya is not applicable to the other parts of the *Śiva*, besides the Seventh Saṁhitā, we have considered here the whole text.

27. Cf. Hazra, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Winternitz, *HIL*, I, p. 553, n. 2.

28. While revising the article, I came across a single reference stating *Vāyu* to be an *Upapurāṇa*—cf. Hazra, *op. cit.*, p. 13, n. 12.

29. *JBORS*, XV, p. 191; cf. also Jackson, *JBRS*, Cent. Mem. Vol. 1905, p. 68; Winternitz, *HIL*, I, p. 529 also n. 2. *Mahābhārata*, III. 191. 16:

एतत् सर्वमाख्यातमतीतानगतं मया ।

नामुन्नेताननुस्मृत्यं पुराणमपि ज्ञास्तुतम् ॥

also; they are absent in the *Śiva Purāṇa* (*Vāyaviya Saṁhitā*). This shows the spuriousness of the present *Śiva* in that it cannot be called by the alternative title of *Vāyu*, there being no reference to past and future in it.

Five characteristics associated with the *Purāṇas* are found, in some form or other, in old *Purāṇas*, and the *Vāyu* is no exception. There are chapters dealing with all topics of the *Purāṇas* in the *Vāyu*, whereas the *Śiva* (*Vāyaviya Saṁhitā*) does not deal with *Vaiśā*, *Manvantara* and *Vaiśānucarita*; and most of what it says about *Sarga* and *Pratisarga* has its prototype in the *Vāyu*. The presence in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* of a number of *Anuvaiśā Śloka*s and *Gāthās*, remnants from ancient bardic poetry, declares its antiquity;³⁰ their absence in the *Śiva* points the other way regarding its date. Though praising *Śiva*, the *Vāyu Purāṇa* is not a professedly sectarian work, indicating its compilation at an early period when sectarian zeal was not in full swing. The *Vāyu* devotes some chapters to the glorification of *Viṣṇu*³¹ and proclaims the unity of *Śiva* and *Viṣṇu*. To this extent it is certainly non-sectarian. The *Śiva Purāṇa*, on the other hand, is an encyclopaedia of *Śiva* ritual, seeking every opportunity to glorify *Śiva* and promulgate the importance, value and greatness of his cult. The *Śiva Purāṇa* has long descriptions, sermons and dissertations on *Śiva* worship, *Linga* ritual, feasts and fasts connected with *Śiva*, one thousand names of *Śiva*, etc., which show it to be a very late work. One further characteristic indicating the antiquity of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* is its division into four parts which, as observed by Dr. Kīrfe,³² is the remnant of a very ancient division found in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* alone. The *Śiva*

30. Cf. JBORS, XV, p. 139.

31. Cf. Chs. 24, 25, 96, 97, &c.

32. *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, Intr.

Purāṇa has none of these ancient peculiarities. It can be called *Purāṇa* only by courtesy,—a bulky, disconnected and frivolous book. It presupposes the existence of 26 *Purāṇas*,³³ has exaggerated descriptions of the heaven and earth, and describes late Tantric cult. By no stretch of imagination can the *Śiva Purāṇa* be pushed back to the period of the ancient *Purāṇas*, nor can it be called a *Mahāpurāṇa*. The earliest reference to the *Śiva Purāṇa* seems to be that of Alberuni.³⁴ Attempts to raise the *Śiva Purāṇa* to the status of a *Mahāpurāṇa* were probably due to sectarian zeal³⁵ as the Śaivas wanted a *Mahāpurāṇa* for themselves pleading in every way for the greatness of Śiva, and the sober *Vāyu Purāṇa* did not satisfy their requirements.

In the present state of our knowledge it seems safe to conclude that the printed *Vāyu Purāṇa* is a genuine *Mahāpurāṇa*, and that the *Śiva Purāṇa* is a late work not fit to be called a *Mahāpurāṇa*, but is only an *Upapurāṇa*.

33. Cf. *Śiva*, V, 14, 41:

षट्विंशति पुराणानां ।

34. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 130.

35. Cf. Hazra, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Chaudhury, *JBORS*, XV, p. 188.

CHAPTER IV

KURUŚRAVAṆA AND KURU-SAMVARAṆA

It was my proud privilege some time back to get guidance regarding methods of comparative study to be employed in studying Vedic and Purāṇic problems from Shri K. M. Munshi. Many a time I was wonderstruck by his profound study and scholarship, perfect grasp of the subject, clear insight and rare intuition which enabled him to portray ancient history as it happened thousands of years ago. Not only did he stress on me his point of view in the matter of the historicity of the Bhārata war, but impressed on me, from the very beginning, his firm belief that Kuruśravaṇa and Kuru-Samvarana were one and the same person; the latter word, according to the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*, denotes two names, viz. Kuru and Samvarana, of son and father. It may, however, be noted that Kuru-Samvarana can be taken to show the patronymic of Kuru, meaning Kuru, son of Samvarana. This problem of the identity of Kuruśravaṇa and Kuru-Samvarana fascinated me for some time, and I am recording below my investigations which go to make at least a *prima facie* case for the identity of the personages.¹

Now, apart from the fact that philologically the word Kuruśravaṇa may well degenerate into Kuru-Samvarana,² there are other factors pointing to the

1. In this chapter, I have given references to original sources, as I have tapped them at every point. I refer occasionally to the *Vedic Index*, modern interpreters and authorities, especially when my views differ from them.
2. By anaptyxis, śravaṇa gets changed to saravana (cf. Gune, *Introduction to Comparative Philology*, p. 51), and by metathesis, saravana is transformed into saaravana (op. cit., p. 52). For insertion of the nasal, cf. G. A. Grierson, "Spontaneous Nasalisation in the Indo-Aryan Languages," *JRAS*, 1922, pp. 381 ff; also, Hoernle, *ERE*, I, p. 259.

identity of the pair. It seems, as I have tried to show later on, that Kuru-śravaṇa of the *Rgveda* appears as Kuru-Samvarana—Kuru, son of Samvarana,—of the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*. In order to understand properly the exact significance attached to these names in the Vedic literature and the Purāṇas, it is necessary to collect references to Kuru-śravaṇa, Samvarana and Kuru from these sources—Vedic as well as Purāṇic.

The name Kuruśravaṇa appears in the tenth Maṇḍala of the *Rgveda*, where, in a *dānastuti*, he is referred to as still living, a contemporary of Kavaṣa or Kavaṣa Ailūṣa, the singer of the hymn.³ Kuru-śravaṇa is mentioned in the hymn as a king and a son of Trasadasyu.⁴ The name Kuruśravaṇa shows him

3. *Rgveda*, X. 32. 9; 33. 4:

एतानि भद्रा कलशं क्रियाम कुरुश्रवण ददतो मघानि ।

दानं द्रष्टो मघवानः सो अस्त्वयं च सोमो हृदियं बिभ्रमि॥ ऋ. १०. ३२. ९॥

कुरुश्रवणमावृणो राजानं त्रासदस्यवं । महिष्टं वाचतामृषिः॥ ऋ. १०.

३३. ४॥

The authors of the *Vedic Index* (I, pp. 143-144) state the possibility of the identity of Rgvedic Kavaṣa with Kavaṣa Ailūṣa mentioned in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, II. 19, Anandasrama Edn., p. 216.

4. I prefer to follow Sāyana in interpreting *Trāsadasya* as the son of *Trāsadasyu*, and also in maintaining that there is no connection between Kuruśravaṇa on the one hand and *Mitrātithi* and *Upamaśravas* on the other. Cf. *Rgveda*, Sāyana-bhāṣya, Bombay Edn., pp. 526, 528:

कुरुश्रवणमावृणीति द्वाभ्यां त्रासदस्यपुत्रस्य कुरुश्रवणनाम्नो राजो दानं तुष्टाय अतस्तद्देवताके जय यस्य प्रस्वादस इत्यादिभिश्चतसृभिः मित्रातिथिनाम्नि राज्ञि परलोकं गते शोकाभिभूतं तस्य पुत्रं उपमश्रवो नामानं कवयऋषिः स्नेहवशादवगत्य विगतशोकमकरोत् . . . । . . . त्रे कुरुश्रवणस्य त्रासदस्यवस्य दानस्तुतिः पराभिर्भूते मित्रातिथौ राज्ञि तत्स्नेहवशादृषिरुपमश्रवसं पुत्रमस्य व्यशोकयदिति ॥

Contra, Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, p. 170; Geldner, *Ved. Stud.*, II., p. 150; Rapson, *CHI*, I, p. 120 (Keith).

to be a Kuru, and his being the son of Trasadasyu makes him one of the Pūrus,—chief opponents of king Sudās in the famous *Dāśarājña*. The fact that Kuruśravaṇa belonged to the side of the confederacy of kings is further supported by his association with Kavaṣa Ailūṣa, his priest, who, as an enemy of Sudās, was thrown into waters by Indra.⁵ Being a son of the participant in the struggle, Kuruśravaṇa apparently follows the *Dāśarājña* closely in time. His proximity with the *Dāśarājña* is again evidenced by his connection with Kavaṣa as just shown. Thus the *Ṛgveda* presents both Kuruśravaṇa and Kavaṣa Ailūṣa as products of the *Dāśarājña* period, and both belonged to the opposing forces of Sudās. There are no other references to Kuruśravaṇa in the Vedic literature, nor does the name occur in the Purāṇas so far as I could see,—not definitely in the genealogy of the Pauravas, descendants of Vedic Pūrus.⁶

Samvarana in the *Ṛgveda* is the name of a Ṛṣi, who, according to the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, was the seer of *Rg. V. 33*, and the son of Prajāpati.⁷ In that hymn, Samvarana mentions Paurukutsya Trasadasyu, Māru-

5. *Ṛgveda*, VII. 18. 12:

अत्र श्रुतं कवयमप्स्वन् दुह्युं निवृण्वग्गवाहुः ।

वृणाना अत्र सख्याय सख्यं त्वायन्तो ये अमदन्नन् त्वा ।

cf. also, Parglter, *AIHT*, pp. 172-173; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 143.

6. Pandit Durgashankar Sastri, (who, unfortunately, passed away recently), than whom it is very difficult to find a better authority on the Purāṇas, also supported me by saying that he did not come across the name Kuruśravaṇa in the Purāṇas. With regard to the *Mahābhārata*, Sørensen's *Index* shows that the name does not occur in the *Mahābhārata*.

7. *Sarvānukramaṇī*, Ed. Macdonell, Oxford, 1886, p. 20; cf. also, *Ṛgveda*, V. 33. 8-10 and 'सवरणस्य ऋषेः' in *Rg. V. 33*. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 413, states only that "Samvarana is the name of a Ṛṣi mentioned in one passage of the *Ṛgveda*."

उत त्वे मा पौरुकुत्सस्य सूरैस्त्वसदस्यो हिरणिनो रराणाः ।

बहन्तु मां दक्ष श्वेनासौ अस्य गैरक्षितस्य ऋतुमिन् सखे ॥

tāsva Cyavatāna and Dhvanya Lakṣmaṇya as his patrons, thereby showing the contemporaneity of all these persons. Samvarana thus belongs to the *Dāśarājña* period, being the contemporary of Trasadasyu. As both Kuruśravaṇa and Samvarana belonged to the same period and as they came from different strata of the populace, one being a king and the other a *Ṛṣi*, there was absolutely no chance of their being mixed up with one another or of one being mistaken for the other in the Vedic literature. The invention of stories and the transference of traditions, however, seem to have been started with the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*.

According to the Purāṇas Samvarana was the son of Rkṣa, and a scion of the Lunar Paurava family.⁸ Kuru is stated to be the son of Samvarana through Tapatī. The *Mahābhārata* further gives the story how Samvarana obtained Tapatī, the daughter of Sūrya, the Sun, through the aid of Vasiṣṭha who was his priest.⁹ The *Mahābhārata* also mentions that a Pañcāla king overthrew Samvarana, that he fled to Sindh and then recovered his kingdom through Vasiṣṭha's help.¹⁰ This episode in the *Mahābhārata* has been taken by Pargiter to refer to the *Dāśarājña*.¹¹ The Pañcāla king has been identified with Sudās; Samvarana with

उत त्वे मा मास्ताश्चस्य शोणाः कृत्वा मन्त्रासो विदधस्य रातो ।

सहस्रा मे व्यवतानो ददान आनुक्रमयो वपुषे नार्चन्तु ॥

उत त्वे मा ध्वन्वस्य जुष्टा लक्ष्मण्यस्य सुखो यतानाः ।

महूना रावः संवरणस्य क्रयेर्वजं न गावः प्रवता अपि ग्मन् ॥

ऋग्वेद. ५. ३३. ८-१०.

8. *Matsya* (Anandasrama Edn.), 50. 20-22; *Vāyu* (Anandasrama Edn.), 99. 214; *Brahma* (Venkatesvara Edn.), II. 106-107; *Agni* (Ven.) 278.26; *Vīṣṇu* (Ven.), IV. 19. 75-77; *Bhāgavata* (Ven.), IX. 22. 3-4; *Harivamśa* (Citrasala Edn.), I. 32. 85.

9. *Mahābhārata* (Critical Edn.), I. 160-163; *Tapotyupākhyāna*.

10. *Mahābhārata* (Critical Edn.), I. 89. 31-43.

11. *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 49-52; 1918, pp. 246-252; also, Pargiter, *AIHT*, p. 172; Pradhan, *CAI*, p. 20.

Pūru, the opponent of Vedic Sudās; and a large confederacy of kings under the leadership of Saṁvarāṇa has been inferred; though strictly speaking, the *Mahābhārata* warrants none of these conjectures. There being an express mention of Purukutsa as the Pūru king, the identification of the latter with Saṁvarāṇa does not appear sound. It is possible that Kuruśravāṇa's distress, hinted in *Rg.* X. 33. 2-3, was later transformed into the defeat and exile of Saṁvarāṇa (his namesake according to later writers) by the author of the *Mahābhārata*. There is, however, nothing in the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* that would go against placing Saṁvarāṇa in the *Dāśarājña* period.

In contrast to the word Kuruśravāṇa, which does not occur anywhere except in the *Rgveda*, the word Kuru as the name of a prince is not found in the *Rgveda*. Nor is the word used in the *Rgveda* as the name of a people.¹² Kuru (or Kuru-Saṁvarāṇa, to use also his patronymic), according to the Purāṇas, was a famous king in the Paurava line, which later came to be known as Kauravas, owing to the illustrious Kuru.¹³ Being a Puru, Kuru-Saṁvarāṇa naturally falls in the enemy camp of Sudās.

In order to place this Kuru-Saṁvarāṇa in the *Dāśarājña* period, we have to bring in Kavaṣa Ailūṣa, who has been referred to earlier. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* proclaims the synchronism of Tura Kāvaṣeya and Janamejaya Pāriṣāta.¹⁴ Tura Kāvaṣeya,

12. Cf. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 166; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 409 f; Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 117 ff.

13. Cf. the continuations of references in n. 8 above.

14. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 34; VIII. 21; (Anandasrama Edn. pp. 892, 946).

एतम् ह वै प्रोवाच तुरः कावषेयो जनमेजयाय पारिक्षिताय . . .
(p. 892) ; एतेन ह वा एन्द्रेण महाभियंकेण तुरः कावषेयो जनमेजयं
पारिक्षितमभियिषेच . . . (p. 946).

who consecrated Janamejaya Pārikṣita, was the son of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa.¹⁵ Janamejaya Pārikṣita, according to the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*, was the grandson of Kuru-Samvarana.¹⁶ So, Kuru-Samvarana, the grandfather, naturally belongs to the period of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa, the father, who was old and famous at the period of the *Dāśarājña*.¹⁷

Finally, concerning the figures of Kuruśravaṇa and Kuru-Samvarana as represented in the *Rgveda* and the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*, we have already seen that both come from the family of Purus or Kurus, the opponents of Sudās; that both belong to the *Dāśarājña* period; and that both are connected with Kavaṣa Ailūṣa as his patrons. There is, of

Oldenberg (ZDMG, 42, 239) rightly assigns him to the end of the Vedic period, and the authors of the *Vedic Index* take him to be probably identical with Tura mentioned in the *Pañcatanīśa Brāhmaṇa* (Ved. Ind., I, p. 314). The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Ven.), IX, 22, 37, also records the tradition of Tura Kāvaṣeya being the priest of Janamejaya Pārikṣita, but it wrongly brings in the later Janamejaya, the descendant of the Pāṇḍavas, and *sarpasatra*. As regards Janamejaya Pārikṣita, the views of Shri Munshi in *Thakkar Vasantsji Madhavji Lectures*, Lect. V, merit serious consideration.

कावपेयं पुरोवाय तुरं तुरगमेवयाद् ।

समन्तात्पृथिवीं सर्वां जित्वा पश्यति चाञ्चरि ॥ भाग. ९.२२.७ ॥

15. Cf. Sāyanabhāṣya on *Altareya Br.*, VII, 34, and also on VIII, 21, given at pp. 893, and 946 of the Anandasrama Edn., which says:

कवपस्य पुत्रस्तुरनामको ऋषिः ।

16. There are indeed some discrepancies in the Purāṇic texts as to the immediate successors of Kuru, as has been rightly observed by Pargiter (*AIHT*, p. 113). The collated text as given by him reads (loc. cit., n. 8):

कुरोस्तु दयिताः पुत्राः सुधन्वा जह्नुरेव च ।

परिक्षितो महातेजाः प्रवरश्चारिमर्दनः ॥

परिक्षितस्य दायादो बभूव जनमेजयः ।

17. Cf. the words वृद्ध (old) and श्रुत (famous) in *Rg.* VII, 18, 12 quoted in fn. 5 above.

course, no reference to genealogical details in the *R̥gveda*; but the three factors shown above, sufficiently prove, it is submitted, the identity of Kuruśravāṇa and Kuru-Samvarāṇa. The name Kuruśravāṇa in later days seems to have been corrupted into Kuru-Samvarāṇa, then the names were split up and different persons came to be designated by the word, and then various stories came to be attached to the names Samvarāṇa and Kuru, without the least reference to any sort of accuracy. No doubt, the stories about Kuru and Samvarāṇa seem to have been invented at a pretty old stage, and possibly formed part of the *Ur-text* of the Purāṇas, as all the texts agree with regard to important particulars.¹⁸

Should this identification receive the approval of competent Vedic and Purāṇic scholars, it will invalidate some current theories about ancient Indian chronology and necessitate reconsideration and re-statement of the Purāṇic genealogies.

18. Cf. "Dāśarājña: A New Approach" (*Munshi Diamond Jubilee Volume*, II, pp. 70-79), where I have tried to correlate the Vedic and epic accounts.

CHAPTER V

HISTORICITY OF KṚṢṆA

The Kṛṣṇa problem is one of the most interesting, important, fascinating and elusive topics in the domain of Indian Literature and History, and there is hardly an orientalist of note who has not contributed something on the subject. To an orthodox Hindu, Kṛṣṇa is a reality, and His mere name has been the saviour of innumerable distressed souls during the last two thousand years. An ordinary Hindu is never concerned with the historicity of Kṛṣṇa: to investigate the problem is a sacrilege according to him. It was only during the last century when the Western canons of criticism were applied to the problem that scholars doubted the historicity of Kṛṣṇa and maintained that Kṛṣṇa represented a syncretism of more than one person, and a steady influx of papers and monographs began to gather round the problem. It is indeed curious that the same set of facts has led to such diverse conclusions.

A detailed and comprehensive treatment of the whole problem will require a full-fledged monograph. Though there are innumerable books,—both old and new, in Sanskrit, in medieval and modern Indian languages as also in English and continental languages—and articles, there is not a single book dealing exhaustively with all aspects and connotations of the problem.¹ This chapter aims at the study of the impor-

1. For important books and papers on the Kṛṣṇa Problem, see S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Early History of Vaiṣṇavism in South India*; A. S. P. Ayyar, *Śrī Kṛṣṇa, The Darling of Humanity*; Barth, *Religions of India*; Bhagwan Das, *Kṛṣṇa*; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*; R. Chanda, *Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava Tradition*; Bankimchandra Chatterjee, *Kṛṣṇa-carita* (Gujarati trans. by K. M. Jhaveri); N. M. Chaudhury, *JBORS*, 1932; Collina, *Kṛṣṇa and Solar Myths*; S. Datta, *Kṛṣṇa and Purāṇas*; S. K. De, *BSOS*, VI: *IHQ*, XVIII; M. M. Dhar, *Kṛṣṇa, the Cowherd*; A. B. Dhruva,

tant aspects of the problem in brief in the light of the available material.

According to traditional history as represented by the Purāṇas, Kṛṣṇa belonged to the Sātvata sect of the Yādavas, who formed the Lunar dynasty, and was 94th in descent from Manu.² Some Purāṇas however represent Kṛṣṇa as coming from the Solar dynasty.³ Both the Lunar and Solar dynasties thus claimed Kṛṣṇa as their own. The name Kṛṣṇa occurs at many places in Brahmanical literature including Vedic, post-Vedic, epic and Puranic, as also in Buddhistic and Jaina literature.

Before coming to the consideration of the various problems connected with the historicity of Kṛṣṇa, it is necessary to deal with the evidence, its chronology and critical evaluation. The evidence can be classified into (i) literary and (ii) epigraphic and sculptural. Literary evidence divides itself into Brahmanic, Buddhistic, Jaina and Greek references. Brahmanical evidence can be chronologically placed as follows: *R̥gveda*, *Upaniṣads*, Pāṇini, Patañjali, the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas. This covers a very long

Apaṇa Dharma (in Gujarati); J. N. Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*; R. Garbe, *ERE*, II, pp. 535-38; G. Grierson, *ERE*, II, pp. 538-51; D. Hill, *Bhagavadgītā*; E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*; H. Jacobi, *ERE*, VII, pp. 193-97; A. B. Keith, *JRAS*, 1908; 1915; Kennedy, *JRAS*, 1907; W. Kirfel, *Festsache Jacobi*; Mohan Singh, *New Light on Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Gītā*; B. R. Mullik, *Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇaism*; D. N. Pal, *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*; A. S. Ramayya, *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*; M. Ray, *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*; H. C. Ravchaudhuri, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*; W. Ruben, *Kṛṣṇa*; *JAOS*, LXI; *JRAS*, 1941; *Festschrift Thomas*; Sampatkumar, *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*; S. N. Tadbatrikar, *Kṛṣṇa Problem*; B. G. Tilak, *Gītārāhasya* (in Marathi; Eng. trans. by B. S. Sukthankar); S. Tattva-bhushan, *Kṛṣṇa and the Gītā*; *Kṛṣṇa and the Purāṇas*; C. V. Vaidya, *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-caritra* (in Marathi).

2. Cf. Parpiter, *AIHT*, pp. 102-17; 144 ff; *Vedic Age*, Genealogical Table.

3. Cf. *Hari*, II. 38. 35: एवमीदृवाकुचंशात्तु यदुचंशो विनिःसृतः ।

period, beginning at a modest estimate from the third millennium B.C. to the fifth century A.D. Later Purāṇas and Brahmanic evidence subsequent to the fifth century A.D. are practically valueless for the purposes of our investigation. The *Jātakas* constitute the Buddhistic evidence embracing the period from the early centuries before Christ and the Jain references also relate to the same period. The records of Megasthenes and Arrian have been placed in the fourth century B.C. Epigraphic and sculptural data relate not only to records of the Christian era, but also to monuments pertaining to the early centuries before Christ.

To turn to the Brahmanic evidence relating to Kṛṣṇa, it is seen that the *Ṛgveda* (VIII. 85. 3, 4) refers to one Kṛṣṇa whom the *Anukramaṇī* styles Kṛṣṇa Āṅgīrasa. Kṛṣṇa Āṅgīrasa is alluded to also in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (XXX. 9). Kṛṣṇa Hārīta is mentioned as a teacher in the *Aitareya Aranyaka* (III. 2.6). The *Vedic Index* makes no reference to any other Kṛṣṇa in Vedic literature besides these.⁴ Sitanath Tattvabhushan, D. R. Bhandarkar and others see in RV. VIII. 96.13-15, a reference to Kṛṣṇa, a non-Aryan chief, who was waiting with 10,000 soldiers on the banks of the Amśumatī (Yamunā) and was vanquished by Indra.⁵ The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (III. 17.6) mentions Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra as a Vedic seer and pupil of Ghora Āṅgīrasa. The earliest parts of the *Mahābhārata* represent Kṛṣṇa as a human hero, a religious teacher, and a counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas. Later on, however, he is raised gradually to divinity as a semi-divine, a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu. The latest parts of the epic treat him as the Supreme God, full incarnation of Viṣṇu, finally identifying him with

4. *Ved. Ind.*, I, p. 184.

5. *Kṛṣṇa and the Gītā*, p. 37; *Some Aspects of Anc. Ind. Cult.*, pp. 82-3.

Brahman.⁶ The Purāṇas speak of Kṛṣṇa as a Yādava hero, who spent his early life in Gokula and later migrated to Dvārakā; he was later deified as the incarnation of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. It may be noted that with the exception of the *R̥gveda* passage, Kṛṣṇa is mentioned as Devakiputra in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, and the last two sources call him also Vāsudeva, i.e. son of Vasudeva. Pāṇini refers to Vāsudeva and Arjuna as objects of worship, and there is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the degree of worship implied by Pāṇini.⁷ It appears that Pāṇini regarded them as Kṣatriya heroes raised to divinity. The relation of Vāsudeva with Arjuna and Kamsa is also indicated. The references in Patañjali clearly show that the deification of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa was complete before his time, and definitely establish the unity of the person designated as Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.⁸

In the *Ghaṭa Jātaka*⁹ Vāsudeva is described as a scion of the royal family of "upper Madhurā," and receives the epithet Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa).

The Jain *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra* (Lecture XXII) states that Vāsudeva was a Kṣatriya prince, and the twelfth *Upāṅga* deals with Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa) Vāsudeva and Baladeva of the Vṛṣṇi dynasty.

The Greek ambassador shows that Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was already deified in the fourth century B.C. among the people of Mathurā, and that he was connected with the Pāṇḍavas.¹⁰

6. Cf. Garbe, *ERE*, II, p. 535; Farquhar, *ORLI*, pp. 48 f, 78, 87; Hopkins, *GEI*, p. 395 n. 3; also Sørensen's *Index* under "Kṛṣṇa."

7. Pāṇini, IV, 3. 96; IV, 3. 98; Jacobi, *ERE*, VII, p. 195; Bhandarkar, *VS*, p. 4; Raychaudhuri, *EHVS*, pp. 30-31.

8. *Mahābhārata* on 2. 3. 36, 3. 1. 26 and 3. 2. 11.

9. *Jātakas*, Cowell's Ed. IV, pp. 50 ff.

10. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 201.

The epigraphic evidence shows the prevalence of the worship of Kṛṣṇa and of temples dedicated to him since the early centuries before the Christian era. The earliest sculptural representation of a scene from the life of Kṛṣṇa dates from the early Kuṣāṇa period (first-second century A.D.).¹¹ The earliest representation of any Brahmanical deity in the whole field of Hindu iconography is that of Balarāma, which cannot be placed later than the second century B.C.¹² *Archaeology and the Vaiṣṇava Tradition* describes epigraphic records pertaining to Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa.¹³ There are two inscribed Garuḍa columns found near Besnagar, which can be placed in the second century B.C. The earlier of these was erected by Heliodorus, and the second by Mahārāja Bhāgavata of the Śuṅga dynasty. Near the Garuḍa column of Heliodorus, and belonging to the same period, was discovered the remnant of Makaradhvaja, or "a column with crocodile symbol". Then come the inscriptions at Ghosunḍi and Nānāghāt, which refer to the worship of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva. The Mora stone slab inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Rājuvula indicates the Vṛṣṇi origin of Vāsudeva, and one early Mathurā inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍaśa refers to the column in honour of Vāsudeva.

Having thus summarized the evidence in brief, let us now turn to the various problems connected with the historicity of Kṛṣṇa. We shall state the problems here, and shall then consider them seriatim. (i) The first point is whether Kṛṣṇa was a human being or a divinity at the beginning. (ii) Next we shall deal with the problem whether there was one Kṛṣṇa or several Kṛṣṇas. (iii) Then will be given the life of Kṛṣṇa collated from all sources. (iv) We shall

11. D. R. Sahnī, *ASR*, 1925-26, pp. 183 f.

12. Agrawala, *JISOA*, 1937, p. 136.

13. *MAI*, No. 5, Calcutta, 1920, pp. 151, 161-163, 166, 169, 171.

then fix his period. (v) Finally the various theories regarding the Kṛṣṇa problem will be briefly stated and examined.

(i) Whether Kṛṣṇa was a human being or a divinity at the beginning: Regarding the original nature of Kṛṣṇa conflicting evidence is offered by literary records, epigraphy and sculpture. Brahmanic literary works lend support both to the human and divine character of Kṛṣṇa, whereas Buddhist and Jain allusions may be said to point to the human nature of Kṛṣṇa. The epigraphic records and sculptural pieces clearly show that Kṛṣṇa had attained divinity at least since the third century B.C.

Sifting the different Brahmanical works it is found that the *R̥gveda*, *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* and *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* refer to Kṛṣṇa as a Vedic seer, obviously a human personality.¹⁴ As already stated, Pāṇini indicates that Vāsudeva and Arjuna, originally Kṣatriya heroes, were raised to the rank of gods before his time and Patañjali shows that they had attained divinity by his time. The *Mahābhārata* clearly shows the human and divine character of Kṛṣṇa. Leaving aside the consideration of the point whether the Kṛṣṇa element formed part of the original epic or was a later addition as contended by Oldenberg and others,¹⁵ it is clear that in the oldest nucleus of the epic we find clear references to the human character of Kṛṣṇa. In this connection, it may be pointed out that even among his senior contemporaries who were specially gifted with divine insight such as Vyāsa,

14. See *supra*, p. 51. There were several "holy seers" bearing the name Kṛṣṇa in the Vedic literature (*Ved. Ind.* I, pp. 184 f); we have referred only to those among them who were identified with Kṛṣṇa of the Vṛṣṇi race, of the epic tradition.

15. Cf. Winternitz, *HIL*, I, p. 456. Dr. Sukthankar in one of his lectures on the *Mahābhārata* delivered in January 1943 before the University of Bombay stated that to understand the *Mahābhārata* it was necessary to understand Kṛṣṇa.

Nārada and Bhīṣma, Kṛṣṇa was regarded as representing an *avatāra* of the Supreme Being, though his human elements were not forgotten.¹⁶ As against these, Śiśupāla, Duryodhana and others disputed the divinity of Kṛṣṇa, and regarded him as a mere cowherd. Evidence of the different stages in the progress of deification of Kṛṣṇa will be found in the *Mahābhārata* itself.¹⁷ In contrast to the earliest portions which clearly bring out the human elements of Kṛṣṇa and portray him as a human hero, he is represented as a semi-divine being in the later portions; whereas the parts of the epic that come still later, regard Kṛṣṇa as the Supreme God. The Purāṇas also present similar strata belonging to different ages showing various stages in the deification of the human hero Kṛṣṇa. Megasthenes testifies to the worship of Kṛṣṇa by the Śūrasenas. The earliest inscriptional records of the second century B.C. refer to the deification of Kṛṣṇa, to the worship of his sculptural images and to the erection of temples in his honour. He is *devadeva*, and even foreigners ruling in India styled themselves as *Paramabhāgavata*.¹⁸ Subsequent inscriptions, as already stated, also show the divinity of Kṛṣṇa.

Without considering the question of the identity or otherwise of the Vedic Kṛṣṇa, the epic Kṛṣṇa, the Puranic Kṛṣṇa, etc. (which will be dealt with later on) it may be stated that the Vedic Kṛṣṇa is a human being and that the earliest portions of the epic and the Purāṇas show the human character of Kṛṣṇa. Buddhist and Jain records also testify to his being a human hero. It is only in the late legends coloured with mythology that Kṛṣṇa is treated as a divine being, and the conclusions that Kṛṣṇa was not a human

16. Mbh. (Cr. Ed.), II. 35. 22-29.

17. Cf. Mbh, V. 79. 5-6.

18. Arch. and Vajnavada Trad., pp. 151 ff.

hero but a solar deity or a vegetation deity, etc., are based on late legends as the result of looking at the story from the wrong end.¹⁹

Kṛṣṇa, therefore, was originally a real man as evidenced by the pre-epic literature and the earliest part of the *Mahābhārata* itself.

(ii) The next point for consideration is whether there was one Kṛṣṇa or there were more than one persons bearing the same name, and as a result of syncretism legend has grown round the name. It should be made clear at the outset that our investigations concern the historicity and identity of Kṛṣṇa the Yādava (whom we may call the epic Kṛṣṇa), who was also Vāsudeva and Devakīputra, and whose patronymics were Śaurī, Vārṣṇeya, Mādhava, Sātvata, Dāsārha, etc. Identification of this Kṛṣṇa with the Devakīputra Kṛṣṇa of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* or with the counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas or with the charioteer of Arjuna, the expounder of the *Bhagavadgītā* and the founder of Bhāgavatism, the cowherd boy of Gokula, and the incarnation of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu, will also form part of our enquiry, although we shall deal with this aspect in brief.

The identity of the Kṛṣṇa of the *Rgveda* with the epic Kṛṣṇa receives no support from Purāṇic tradition, as he is nowhere mentioned as a seer of Vedic hymns or is in no way connected with Aṅgiras. As regards the non-Aryan chief Kṛṣṇa stated to have been referred to in the *Rgveda* by S. Tattvabhushan, D. R. Bhandarkar and others, and in whom these scholars see the origin and associations of the later Kṛṣṇa of the Purāṇas, it may be observed that this interpretation of the *Rgvedic* passage, though given by Sāyaṇa, is not accepted by modern Vedic scholars, and Sāyaṇa himself has mentioned the different interpretations

19. Cf. Raychaudhury, *EHVS*, p. 39.

given by the *Bṛhaddevatā*.²⁰ Further, there is absolutely no connecting link to associate this so-called Ṛgvedic Kṛṣṇa, who was an Asura according to Sāyana, with the Kṛṣṇa, of the Purāṇas. Many scholars, however, are inclined to identify Devakīputra of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* with the epic Kṛṣṇa especially on account of the similarity of metonyms as also that of doctrines propounded in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and the *Bhagavadgītā*.²¹ De has dealt with the problem in some detail and has proved that the two personalities are quite distinct.²² Ghorā Āṅgīrasa is never mentioned as the teacher of the epic Kṛṣṇa, whose teachers have been named as Sāṇḍipani and Garga in the epic and Purāṇic traditions. Much capital, again, has been made of the alleged similarities of doctrines. The so-called parallels do not form the cardinal doctrines of the *Bhagavadgītā*, and as the latter echoes most of the teachings of the *Upaniṣads* and forms its verses by tags from the *Upaniṣads*, parallelisms between the *Bhagavadgītā* and the

20. The important words in the RV (VIII. 96.13-15) passage are "kṛṣṇa", "drapṣa", and "Amśumati". According to the *Bṛhaddevatā* (VI. 109 ff), drapṣa and kṛṣṇa is Soma itself. It had run away from the gods while they were coming to drapṣa and kṛṣṇa thinking them to be demons. Sāyana, however, says that the interpretation of the *Bṛhaddevatā* is to be neglected, and takes drapṣa kṛṣṇa to mean "the swift-moving Kṛṣṇa", an Asura, who with 10,000, occupied the banks of Amśumati or Yamunā. Grassmann takes this as the description of Soma. According to Oldenberg, drapṣa and kṛṣṇa are identical, and not two inimical forces: kṛṣṇa drapṣa was the sperm of Brhaspati, which remains hidden in the river; Indra with Brhaspati as his companion defended this kṛṣṇa drapṣa against 10,000 attackers from whom it escapes. Goldner takes drapṣa (Soma) as attacked by kṛṣṇa and saved by Indra. Griffith takes kṛṣṇa drapṣa as the darkened moon, amśumati as a mystical river of the air in which the moon dips to recover its vanished light, and 10,000 as probably demons of darkness.—I must record here my indebtedness to Prof. H. D. Velankar, my revered guru, in preparing this note.

21. Raychaudhury, *EHVS*, pp. 78 ff, and footnote 80 later on.

22. *IHO*, XVIII, pp. 297-301.

Upaniṣads are not at all surprising. It may further be noted that the *Bhagavadgītā* which regards *jñāna-yajña* as superior to *dravyayajña* never mentions Ghora Āṅgīrasa. The alleged identification, therefore, is not proved.

Some scholars believe that the Kṛṣṇa of the Purāṇas, the Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata* and the Kṛṣṇa of the *Bhagavadgītā* are different persons. For maintaining the diversity of the epic and Purāṇic Kṛṣṇas, it is argued that the *Mahābhārata* contains no reference to the childhood of Kṛṣṇa, and the older Purāṇas do not refer to the connection of the Purāṇic Kṛṣṇa with the Pāṇḍavas. It is true that Kṛṣṇa appears for the first time in the epic at the Svayamvara of Draupadī where he had come from Dvārakā, and the epic is silent as to his earlier life. It is again argued that the life of Kṛṣṇa in Gokula and also during the Bhārata war is contrary to his teachings in the *Bhagavadgītā*, and hence these different irreconcilable features belong to different cycles of legends.

Now, the *Mahābhārata* principally concerns itself with the history of the Bhāratas and naturally Kṛṣṇa's doings and life subsequent to his contact with the Pāṇḍavas have been incorporated in the epic. Again, the *Harivaṃśa* which forms the supplement of the *Mahābhārata* deals exhaustively and exclusively with the life and history of Kṛṣṇa on which the *Mahābhārata* is silent; and it was on account of this that even in the subsequent redactions of the Great Epic nothing was added concerning the early life of Kṛṣṇa. The *Harivaṃśa* and the *Mahābhārata* thus together supply a complete life of Kṛṣṇa. It cannot, however, be said that the *Mahābhārata* is entirely silent as to the early life of Kṛṣṇa, as there are some references to his early life in Gokula.²³ In his tirade and

23. Cf. *Mbh.* (B). II. 33. 11; 39. 2; 41. 4; 68. 41; III. 14. 10; 263. 8; VI. 23. 7; XII. 47. 108; XIII. 149. 82; XIV. 68. 1; 87. 11; XVI. 2.

24. The references to the Critical Edition for the Table,

calumny against Kṛṣṇa, the Cedi king Śiśupāla not only calls him a cowherd (*gopa*) and a cattle-tender (*vārgapāla*), but refers derisively to his various childhood exploits (which have been mentioned in the Purāṇas) such as the killing of Pūtana, Śakuni, Vṛṣabha etc. and the Govardhana incident.²⁴ The celebrated prayer by Draupadī to Kṛṣṇa when Duḥśāsana was stripping off her garments (*Mbh.*, B. II. 68.41-46) has been rightly excluded from the critical edition of the *Sabhāparvan* edited by F. Edgerton on strictly scientific grounds based on the conclusive evidence of MSS.²⁵ It is interesting to note in this connection that the word *gopījanavallabha*, which shows Kṛṣṇa's association with the Gopīs, occurs in this passage which was claimed as an old part of the epic by Garbe.²⁶ This once more proves how precarious are the conclusions based on the vulgate text of the *Mahābhārata*.²⁷ The exclusion of the passage containing a reference to Kṛṣṇa as *gopījanavallabha* from the text of the *Mahābhārata*, however, does not affect our position, as there are various passages, already mentioned, referring to the early life of Kṛṣṇa in Gokula. One passage of the *Mahābhārata* clearly shows that the same Kṛṣṇa from Gokula who killed Kamsa was the friend and counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas and helped them to kill Jarāsandha.²⁸ The silence of the early Purāṇas as to the part Kṛṣṇa played in the great Bhārata war is easily explained on the ground that as the Great Epic exhaustively dealt with it,

Araṇya, *Bhīṣma* and *Sānti* passages are: II. 30. 10; 36. 2; 38. 4; 543* line 2 (p. 304); III. 15. 10; p. 1082, lines 72-7; VI. p. 710, line 14; XII. 47. 72. Cf. also *Bhṛ.* I. 28, 32, 42; VI. 41; XVIII. 1.

24. *Mbh.* (Cr. Ed.), II. 38 and 41.

25. *Sabhāparvan*, Intr., pp. XXVIII-XXIX.

26. *Indien und das Christendom*, p. 227; cf. Keith, *JRAS*, 1915, p. 549.

27. Cf. Sukthankar, *Festschrift Kane*, p. 474 n (= *SME*, I, p. 389 n).

28. *Mbh.* (B), XII. 339. 90-100. (Cr. Ed.), XII. 326. 82-92.

the Purāṇas thought it unnecessary to refer to it. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* expressly states that the *Hari-vamśa* was written to fill up the gaps in the life of Kṛṣṇa as found in the *Mahābhārata*. Hence naturally, the Purāṇas deal with the early life of Kṛṣṇa and with other aspects not touched by the *Mahābhārata*. An account of the life of Kṛṣṇa from his birth to death based on a critical examination and collation of the details as given in the *Mahābhārata* and the older Purāṇas so as to present a connected and consistent story will be given later on. It may, however, be stated that the *Mahābhārata* presents Kṛṣṇa as a Yādava chief, a friend and counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas due to whose tactful guidance alone the latter came out successful in the Bhārata war. Some scholars are inclined to doubt the identity of this Kṛṣṇa, the chief of Dvārakā who often advocated tricky ways, with the propounder of the *Bhagavadgītā* who preaches *dharma* as the rule of life.²⁹ But it may be seen that there is really no such contradiction, inconsistency or incompatibility in the preachings and behaviour of the Vṛṣṇi hero as to justify the theory of two Kṛṣṇas. As the priests of Śiva were the last to retouch the *Mahābhārata*, and as there is as much Śaivism in the *Mahābhārata* as there is Vaisnavism,³⁰ sectarian rancour may have been responsible for inventing some incidents and darkening the character of Vāsudeva. His actions, however, can be justified on the ground that they were necessitated by peculiar circumstances which may be excused as exceptions to the general rule. The activities of Kṛṣṇa before and during the Bhārata war as recorded in the *Mahābhārata*, no doubt, represent him as a human politician par excellence, though the *Mahābhārata* at places attempts to identify him with the god of gods.

29. Cf. Winternitz, *HIL*, I, p. 456; Garbe, *ERE*, II, pp. 535 ff.

30. Hopkins, *RI*, pp. 356n, 349n.

The *Harivaṁśa*, *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata* and *Brahmavaivarta* among the *Purāṇas* deal exhaustively with the life of Kṛṣṇa, and the accounts in the different *Purāṇas* are not only inconsistent but mutually contradictory. Ruben has critically considered some incidents relating to the life of Kṛṣṇa from different *Purāṇas* and has come to the conclusion that the original supplement (*Khila*) of the *Mahābhārata* was much shorter than the *Khila Harivaṁśa* now current, that the original *Harivaṁśa* is the oldest *Purāṇa* and that the original archetype of the *Harivaṁśa* has been better preserved in the *Brahma*.³¹ The order of the *Purāṇas* has variously been placed as: *Viṣṇu-Harivaṁśa-Bhāgavata-Brahmavaivarta*,³² *Harivaṁśa-Brahma-Viṣṇu-Bhāgavata-Brahmavaivarta*,³³ *Brahma-Viṣṇu-Bhāgavata-Brahmavaivarta*,³⁴ etc. A critical evaluation of the different accounts of Kṛṣṇa given in the *Purāṇas* shows that only the *Brahma* and the *Viṣṇu* have a common text, and that the former has an account older than the *Viṣṇu*.³⁵ Besides these, the *Padma*, *Agni*, *Bhāgavata* and *Brahmavaivarta* deal at some length with the Kṛṣṇa story, and the *Harivaṁśa*, truly as the supplement of the *Mahābhārata*, goes over the entire *Purāṇic* story, carefully omitting all references to the *Mahābhārata* story. The *Bhāgavata* is the only *Purāṇic* account which combines both the epic and *Purāṇic* accounts setting them in proper context. The *Brahmavaivarta* is a late work, solely written to glorify Rādhā.

It has been suggested that the Kṛṣṇa in the *Purāṇas* and the Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata* are distinct personages. Mutual exclusiveness of the two

31. JAOS, 61, pp. 115-127; JRAS, 1941, pp. 247-256.

32. Cf. Tattvabhushan, *Kṛṣṇa and the Gītā*, p. 56.

33. Cf. Durgashankar Shastri, *Purāṇa Vivarana*, pp. 133-5.

34. Ruben, *Festschrift Thomas*, pp. 188-203.

35. Cf. Tadpatrikar, *Kṛṣṇa Problem*, pp. 276-277.

sources has been satisfactorily explained above. It is felt that the lascivious, lustful, immoral Kṛṣṇa of Gokula cannot be the same person as the friend of the Pāṇḍavas and the great teacher of the *Bhagavadgītā*. For one thing, it has not been definitely proved whether Kṛṣṇa had questionable relations with the Gopīs. On account of the absence of any reference in the *Jātaka* story and the *Mahābhārata* to the relations of Kṛṣṇa with the Gopīs, which is found in the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Purāṇas*, some scholars hold that there was no basis in fact for the Gopī stories.³⁶ The antiquity of the tradition about the Gopīs would be evident from the fact that Aśvaghoṣa (first century A.D.) refers to them in his *Buddhacarita* (IV. 14). Comparisons with later accounts show how each subsequent writer has added from his imagination to the story. Again, the age of Kṛṣṇa when he was in Gokula entirely speaks against any blot to his character,—he was a mere boy. This appears precisely to be the reason why Śiśupāla was silent regarding these incidents in the reviling scene in the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. Further, Kṛṣṇa never visited Gokula again after he left it once, which would be inexplicable if he had immoral connections with the cowherd maidens. At the most, all that we can say regarding Kṛṣṇa's life and doings in Gokula is that his youthful loves did not go beyond violent flirtations and a taste for group dancing and singing, and they were rather a precocious manifestation of his richly artistic and vital nature. It may be noted that even in the latest accounts, it is nowhere mentioned that Kṛṣṇa hankered after the Gopīs; it was they who went mad after him. No blot can be ascribed to his character in any case. Many of the stories associated with Kṛṣṇa's life in Gokula which have been added by later works are mere symbolizations. There is

36. Cf. Raychaudhuri. *EHVS*, pp. 73 f.

thus nothing inconsistent in identifying the Purāṇic Kṛṣṇa with the epic Kṛṣṇa. The various accounts in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas show no such hopeless incompatibility as would, by itself, give a *prima facie* justification for the theory of two Kṛṣṇas—one, the warrior, statesman and teacher of the *Bhagavad-gītā* at the time of the Bhārata war, and the other, the devotion-inspirer, the beloved of the Gopīs, of Vṛndāvana of a later time. There is indeed no inherent improbability in Kṛṣṇa's being a cowherd in his childhood as well as a warrior-teacher in his later life.

The Purāṇas indicate Kṛṣṇa's relationship with the Pāṇḍavas and the antiquity of this tradition is also clear from Pāṇini and the Greek records.³⁷ We have thus established the identity of the Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata*, of the *Bhagavadgītā* and of the Purāṇas.

Following the lead of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar it has been argued that Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva were originally different personages who were later merged into a single personality. There is absolutely no foundation in fact for this view. According to Bhandarkar,³⁸ the cowherd Kṛṣṇa of the Purāṇas is distinct from the Vṛṣṇi prince Vāsudeva of the *Mahābhārata*. Bhandarkar holds that Vāsudeva was not originally a patronymic but the name of a member of the Sāt-vata or Vṛṣṇi race, who was worshipped as a Supreme Being, and the tradition of Kṛṣṇa as a sage is seen from the time of the *Rgveda* and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. The conception of Vasudeva as father, according to Bhandarkar, arose afterwards, and Vāsudeva was identified with the Vedic sage Kṛṣṇa and a genealogy was given to him in the Vṛṣṇi race through

37. Cf. Pāṇini IV. 3. 98, who mentions Vāsudeva and Arjuna together, and Megasthenes refers to Kṛṣṇa's connection with Pandia.

38. *VS.* pp. 13, 42.

Śūra and Vasudeva. Now, the name Vāsudeva occurs once in Vedic literature as a name of Viṣṇu.³⁹ The *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Jātakas*, the *Mahābhārata* and the Jain *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra* state that Vāsudeva was a scion of the Vṛṣṇi family. The *Mahābhārata* further states that true Vāsudeva was Kṛṣṇa of Yādava, Vṛṣṇi or Sātvata family of Mathurā.⁴⁰ The *Mahābhāṣya*, the *Jātakas* and the Greek records also point to the fact of Kṛṣṇa being the son of Vasudeva and Devaki (i.e. of his being Vāsudeva). The *Mahābhāṣya* passages असाधुमर्तुले कुण्डः, जघान कंसं किल वामुदेवः, and प्रहारा दृश्यन्ते कंसस्य च कुण्डस्य च clearly show that Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva were the names of one and the same individual.⁴¹ According to the *Ghaṭa Jātaka*, Vāsudeva receives the epithet Kaṇha (i.e. Kṛṣṇa).⁴² Megasthenes and Arrian refer to Herakles as one held in special honour by the Sourasenoī, an Indian tribe who possessed two large cities Methora and Kleisobora.⁴³ Herakles has been identified by Bhandarkar with Vāsudeva and Sourasenoī with Śūrasenas or Sātvatas.⁴⁴ Lassen, McCrindle and Hopkins state that Methora and Kleisobora are respectively Mathurā and Kṛṣṇapura.⁴⁵ The mention of Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa and Śūrasenas or Sātvatas together in one context is a certain indication of the early and inseparable connection between these. The fact seems to be that Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa were one and the same person, and the deification of Vāsudeva

39. *Taitt. Ar.* X. 1.6: नारायणाय विद्यहे वामुदेवाय धीमहि । तन्नो विष्णुः प्रचोदयात् ॥

40. False Vāsudeva was king of Puṇḍra. Cf. *Mbh.* (B) I. 186, 12; II. 14, 20; etc. For true Vāsudeva, see Sørensen's *Index*.

41. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini.

42. Cowell's *Jātakas*, IV, p. 54.

43. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 201.

44. *VS*, p. 13.

45. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 140 n; *JA*, 1876, p. 334; Hopkins, *RI*, p. 459.

Kṛṣṇa and his identification as an incarnation of Viṣṇu were complete before the period of the *Mahābhāṣya*. It has been contended that the mention of Kṛṣṇa as Devakīputra without mentioning the name of his father shows that his father's name has later been developed from his very name Vāsudeva.⁴⁶ But in old days, metonyms were used to distinguish between the sons of different wives, e.g. Kṛṣṇa and Balārāma, though both Vāsudeva (i.e. son of Vasudeva), were respectively Devakīputra and Rauhīṇeya. Keith is indeed right when he states that "the separation of Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa it is impossible to justify".⁴⁷

The problem of the deification of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, the Yādava prince and preacher of the *Bhagavadgītā*, deserves to be briefly considered. It appears that the deification of Kṛṣṇa began not long after his age and even during his lifetime, some regarded him as superhuman; and regarding the period required for the process of deification we have to take into account the circumstances prevailing in the past. Buddha was raised to divinity in his own lifetime. Vāsudeva was not merely a Kṣatriya hero, but raised to divinity by the time of Pāṇini; subsequent references definitely show that long before the fourth century B.C., Kṛṣṇa was worshipped as the records of Megasthenes would have us believe. The Greek ambassador definitely states that Kṛṣṇa was regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The earliest inscriptional and sculptural data indicating the ascription of divinity to Kṛṣṇa date about second century B.C. The doctrine of *avatāra* shows a developed stage in the *Bhagavadgītā*. It may be seen that a doctrine of *avatāra* was the necessary corollary to the identification of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva with the Supreme. Kṛṣṇa, in human form, was the Vṛṣṇī prince of Dvārakā and the charioteer of Arjuna at

46. Jacobi. ERE, VII, p. 195.

S.E.P.—4

47. JRAS, 1915, p. 840.

Kurukṣetra; if he were, at the same time, the highest god, the paradox could only be explained by the theory of *avatāra*.

Allied with the question of the identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with the highest god is that of his identification with Nārāyaṇa. The exact period when Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva was first identified with Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu cannot be ascertained. The *Taittiriya Aranyaka* (X. 1. 6) identifies Vāsudeva with Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu, but the date of that work is not certain. Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu were originally names of distinct deities. Viṣṇu is a *Ṛgvedic* deity, but Nārāyaṇa occurs for the first time in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XII. 3. 4. 1). Viṣṇu in the *Ṛgveda* is but a comparatively minor deity. He gradually rose into prominence in the epic period as the only Supreme god, Śiva being his only rival for the post of honour. One of the reasons why Kṛṣṇa after his deification was identified with Viṣṇu instead of any other godhead seems to be that the epithets of Viṣṇu such as Gopā (*RV.* I. 22. 18) could very well be applicable to Kṛṣṇa. Another reason appears to be that Viṣṇu, who was reputed to be the great benefactor of mankind, the preserver of Dharma since the earliest Vedic times, was the natural choice of the followers of Kṛṣṇa in preference to the malevolent Śiva, the dreadful, when Kṛṣṇa was deified, and Viṣṇu was made the centre of the *avatāra* theory propounded in the *Bhagavadgītā*.

It has been suggested that in its early form Bhāgavatism was a development of sun-worship, and Viṣṇu being a solar deity, the identification of the principal figure in the Bhāgavata cult with Viṣṇu,⁴³ in preference to the Lord of Storm, was a natural course. But it has not yet been definitely proved that the Bhāgavatism was a form of Sun worship.

43. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *EHVS*, pp. 89-1; Grierson, *IA*, 1908, p. 253.

The deification of Kṛṣṇa and his identification with Viṣṇu as his *avatāra* find full expression in the *Bhagavadgītā*, and hence may be taken to date at least since the pre-Buddhist period.

(iii) Now, we shall deal with the life of Kṛṣṇa after collating the Purāṇic texts and the *Mahābhārata* accounts, giving the incidents in a chronological sequence. The complete life, combining the Purāṇic and epic accounts, as already stated, occurs only in the late *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. In reconstructing the life of Kṛṣṇa, only the old and authentic accounts have been taken into consideration, and we have left out the mythological, symbolical, metaphorical or religious embellishments and colourings that have gathered round the story. Only those facts that might have occurred historically have been included in the life.

As the *Mahābhārata* and some earlier texts do not refer to Kṛṣṇa's life in Gokula, some scholars are inclined to omit these incidents from Kṛṣṇa's life, taking them to be later additions. Dhruva reads a mixture of poetic fancy and historical facts in the Purāṇic and *Mahābhārata* stories of Kṛṣṇa; and he seeks symbolical and philosophical explanations for most of the exploits of Kṛṣṇa in childhood.⁴⁹ There is, no doubt, some amount of truth in these observations. Some of the later stories are palpably apparent as unhistorical on the face of them, such as the approach of Earth to the gods and the promise of God to be born in Gokula, the prophecy of gods, exaggerated accounts of some of the miraculous feats of child Kṛṣṇa, etc. which were evidently added after the deification of Kṛṣṇa was complete. The accounts in the later Purāṇas constitute important landmarks for the development of the Kṛṣṇa myth and the evolution of the Vaiṣṇava religion, though they cannot be

49. *Araṇya Dharma*, pp. 752 ff.

relied on as sources of information for the historical life of Kṛṣṇa.

To turn now to a brief outline of the life of Kṛṣṇa, after eschewing incidents which appear to have no basis in historical facts, we find, as already stated, that Kṛṣṇa was the son of Vasudeva (of the Yādavas) and Devakī the daughter of Devaka, brother of king Ugrasena of Mathurā. Before the birth of Kṛṣṇa, Kāṁsa, the son of Ugrasena, had usurped the Mathurā throne and had imprisoned Ugrasena and his minister Vasudeva. Relying on the prophecy of his royal astrologers that Devakī's eighth child would kill him, Kāṁsa used to kill the children of Devakī. Kṛṣṇa was born in the prison cell at Mathurā, but immediately after birth, was removed to Gokula, to the other side of the Yamunā with the aid of the prison warders and others who were dissatisfied with the tyrant Kāṁsa. He was brought up in Gokula as the child of Nanda and Yaśodā, whose daughter was substituted for Kṛṣṇa, and the baby daughter was later killed by Kāṁsa.

As a child, Kṛṣṇa appears to have been extraordinary, and he passed through many a crisis.⁵⁰ He was once attacked with a fatal disease named Pūtānā,⁵¹ but he miraculously escaped. Thereafter, while kept underneath a waggon by his mother, he struck his feet against the wheels of the waggon with the result that the waggon was overturned and the pots and pans were upset and broken. Then, a fearful bird suddenly pounced on Kṛṣṇa and carried

50. There is no settled order in the Purāṇas of the various incidents, which are of unequal length in the different Purāṇas.

51. Pūtānā has variously been given as a female nurse, a fearful bird and a terrible giantess. Sūtrata (Uttaratantra, Ch. 27, 37) mentions Pūtānā as a fatal children's disease. Dhruva interprets the Pūtānā story to mean that the benevolent power of the Almighty is superior to the power of the diseases harassing young children (Āpāna Dharma, p. 758).

him away in its talons. The bird fell down dead after a time and the child was found to be safe. Kṛṣṇa's initiatory rites were performed along with his elder brother Balarāma (son of Vasudeva by Rohiṇī) by Garga, the family priest of the Vṛṣṇi race, who arrived in Gokula in secret.

As a boy Kṛṣṇa was extremely handsome and beautiful and endowed with profound physical strength and supernatural energy. He was the beloved of all boys and girls, and all men and women of Gokula loved him more than their own children. Once while tied to a mortar with a rope round his waist, Kṛṣṇa tried to extricate himself from the rope and began to drag the mortar after him. It fell on its side and rolled after him till it stuck fast amid two Arjuna trees, which eventually were uprooted and fell down.

On account of evil omens and the onrush of hundreds of ferocious wolves, the cowherds in a body left Gokula for Vṛndāvana and soon settled there. In Vṛndāvana, Kṛṣṇa subjugated Kālīya, a Nāga chief, and ordered him to leave the place with his tribe.⁵² Kṛṣṇa used to gather his friends in the forest, and enjoyed many a game, during the course of which Balarāma killed Pralamba, an Asura, who joined them dressed as a cowherd boy. In Vṛndāvana, instead of the usual Indrayajña current among herdsmen, Kṛṣṇa established the practice of worshipping Nature, the visible manifestation of God, the Govardhana Hill. There was a heavy down-pour when the herdsmen were engaged in their new sacrifice, and through some extraordinary miraculous device, Kṛṣṇa saved them all.⁵³

52. Bhagwan Das (*Kṛṣṇa*, p. 59) takes the subjugation of Kālīya to represent reign over five senses.

53. According to Dhruva (*Āpāna Dharma*, p. 759) the Govardhana story shows us the world surrounding us as superior to Indra in the sky and should be regarded as Īvara.

Vraja-līlā: Then came the great dance, the Rāsa, about which so much has been written. Among the Yādavas it was usual to engage in dance and song in which youths and maidens participated. The *Hari-vaṁśa* represents the Rāsa as a maddening love of youthful maidens for a young man; in the *Bhāgavata*, it is the deep sensual love of passionate and sprightly girls for a passionate youth; while the *Brahma-vai-varta* describes it as a gross carnality. It may be observed in this connection that Kṛṣṇa was hardly a boy of eleven in Vṛndāvana. He had the usual Gopa taste for group dancing and singing, and these dances, as already stated, are rather a precocious manifestation of Kṛṣṇa's richly artistic and vital nature. Kṛṣṇa taught the herdsmen the principle of true Kātyāvani-pūjā that without absolute surrender of self to Him, worship of Kātyāvanī was of no avail. The *Rasat-nyākhyāna* teaches that God hankers after true love.⁵⁴

Kṛṣṇa's First Deeds: Kṛṣṇa's extraordinary exploits, widespread popularity and great fame reached the ears of Kamsa, and he planned to kill the Vṛṣṇi princes Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma through his wrestlers. He sent Akrūra as an envoy to Vṛndāvana with an invitation to Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma to visit his court and attend the wrestling bouts. Accordingly they left Vṛndāvana and started for Mathurā. Soon after reaching Mathurā, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma had an affray with Kamsa's men in the streets and bodyguards. In the main tournament (Dhanurmaha) the next day, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma killed the prize-fighters. Kṛṣṇa also killed the tyrant Kamsa, and reinstated Ugrasena on the Mathurā throne.

Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma then left for Avantipura near Kāśī for their education at the hermitage of Sāndipani. Their stay at the preceptor was, however, very short, for they were called back by the people of

54. Cf. Dhruva, *Apaṇa Dharma*, p. 739.

Mathurā on account of invasion. Enraged at Kaiśa's death, Jarāsandha, his father-in-law and ruler of Magadha, invaded Mathurā with a large army a number of times, but Kṛṣṇa repelled the invasions. Kālayavana, a Yavana chief, was instigated by Jarāsandha to fight against Kṛṣṇa; but the latter got Kālayavana killed by Mucukunda. To avoid unnecessary bloodshed, Kṛṣṇa ultimately left Mathurā, and with his people migrated to Dvārakā on the extreme west coast and settled there. Kṛṣṇa then married Rukmiṇī, the daughter of Bhiṣmaka, the Vīdarbha king, whom her brother intended to marry to Śiśupāla, the Cedi king.

Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas: Kṛṣṇa appears for the first time in the *Mahābhārata* at the Svayamvara of Draupadī which he attended. After the marriage of the Pāṇḍavas with Draupadī, Kṛṣṇa sent them many presents. The Pāṇḍavas then re-established their sovereignty in Khāṇḍava, founded Indraprastha, and settled there, after which Kṛṣṇa returned to Dvārakā.

In the course of his pilgrimage, Arjuna visited the holy Prabhāsa, where Kṛṣṇa came to see him and took him to Dvārakā. On Kṛṣṇa's advice, Arjuna captured and married his sister, Subhadrā. Kṛṣṇa got a magnificent Assembly Hall built for the Pāṇḍavas by Maya, the Dānava architect, whose life was saved by Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in their burning of the Khāṇḍava forest. Kṛṣṇa then advised king Yudhiṣṭhira to perform the Rājasūya, but as a preliminary to it, visited Girivraja, the capital of Magadha, along with Bhīma and Arjuna, where Bhīma slew Jarāsandha, the Magadha King, and the imprisoned kings were set free. At the Rājasūya, Kṛṣṇa washed the feet of the Brāhmanas. Bhīma declared Kṛṣṇa to be the Supreme God and the only person fit for *Āraṇyajā* (first worship), which shows that Kṛṣṇa was deified in his own lifetime. Śiśupāla, the late generalissimo

of Jarāsandha, objected to the *Agrapūjā* being offered to Kṛṣṇa, censured Kṛṣṇa, Bhiṣma and the Pāṇḍavas, and was slain by Kṛṣṇa. After the successful conclusion of Yudhiṣṭhira's Rājasūya, Kṛṣṇa returned to Dvārakā.

The game of dice that finally led to the banishment of the Pāṇḍavas was played immediately after Kṛṣṇa left for Dvārakā. During the Pāṇḍavas' exile, Kṛṣṇa visited them thrice in deep forest, and attended the marriage of Abhimanyu (son of Subhadra and Arjuna) with Uttarā, daughter of king Virāṭa, at Virāṭanagara, after the period of exile was over. After returning to Hastināpura, the Pāṇḍavas demanded their share of the kingdom from Duryodhana, the Kuru prince, but the latter turned a deaf ear to all proposals from the Pāṇḍavas. Envoys were sent by each side to try to effect a compromise between the contending parties, but these proved futile. After it was found that war was inevitable, both parties tried to gather forces on their sides, and Arjuna and Duryodhana went to Dvārakā to seek the aid of Kṛṣṇa. Arjuna preferred the single-handed, non-combatant Kṛṣṇa as an ally who, later, became his charioteer; and Duryodhana selected the large army of veteran Nārāyaṇas. Balarāma preferred to remain neutral. As a last resort, Kṛṣṇa himself went as the envoy of the Pāṇḍavas to Hastināpura to see if any means could be found to avoid the disastrous war. His efforts were of no avail. He tried to win over Karṇa to the side of the Pāṇḍavas, but Karṇa desired to remain true and loyal to Duryodhana.

During the Bhārata war, Kṛṣṇa helped the Pāṇḍavas in a number of ways. On the first day, when Arjuna was unnerved at the sight of his relatives in the opposite camp and was at a loss to know his duty, Kṛṣṇa preached him the "Song Celestial" which told him what his true work was. It is beyond the scope

of the present chapter to say anything about the "Song Celestial". Kṛṣṇa strained every nerve, physically and spiritually, to bring forth victory for the Pāṇḍavas. Kṛṣṇa's efficiency as a charioteer helped Arjuna a good deal. He twice started to attack Bhīṣma, took charge of Bhagadatta's missile which was aimed against Arjuna and expressed a number of times his readiness to kill the enemies himself. Kṛṣṇa received numerous wounds and injuries in the war and sometimes was temporarily overwhelmed. In the matter of killing Bhūriśravā, Droṇa, Karṇa and Duryodhana (among others) Kṛṣṇa may be said to have forced the Pāṇḍavas to play frauds; but these were justifiable under the exigencies of circumstances. Many a time during the war, Kṛṣṇa not only tactfully guided the Pāṇḍavas as to the particular course to be taken, but encouraged and urged them to action as also gave them spiritual advice, consolations, etc. In fact, it was mainly and solely due to the important part played by Kṛṣṇa in the great war that the Pāṇḍavas emerged victorious.

Yudhiṣṭhira was installed on the throne at Hastināpura, and Kṛṣṇa returned to Dvārakā, to come once more to Hastināpura to be present at the Aśvamedha of Yudhiṣṭhira. He revived the still-born child of Uttarā, which later was named Parikṣit. The Aśvamedha was solemnized in all pomp and glory, and Kṛṣṇa bade farewell to the Pāṇḍavas for the last time.

Then for many years, Kṛṣṇa passed at Dvārakā a life of peace, pleasure and happiness, when at last there arose a fateful dissension amongst the various Yādava tribes. With life of peace and luxury, the Yādavas daily grew sensuous and vicious, and became addicted to drinking. Once they went to Prabhāsa to perform religious rites, leaving only women, children and old men at Dvārakā. There they enjoyed in various ways and drank heavily. From hot words

they came to blows, and a great battle was fought on the holy shrine, brother fighting against brother, and kith against kin. The entire Yadu race was destroyed in the struggle, leaving only four, viz. Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Dārūka (Kṛṣṇa's charioteer) and Babhru. Balarāma thereafter went to the sea and gave up his life.

Kṛṣṇa sent his charioteer to Hastināpura with the news and a message to Arjuna to come to Dvārakā to look after the women and children. He himself consoled the wailing women and children, and asked them to await Arjuna's arrival and then to accompany him to Hastināpura as Dvārakā was destined to be swallowed by the sea. Kṛṣṇa then left Dvārakā and retired into deep forest. Arjuna came to Dvārakā, took with him the remnants of the Yadu family, and installed Vajra, the only surviving grandson of Kṛṣṇa, on the throne of Mathurā. Kṛṣṇa, when in deep meditation, was hit by the arrow of a hunter who mistook him for deer, and passed away.⁵⁵

(iv) The date of Kṛṣṇa need not detain us long. We have already seen that Kṛṣṇa was connected with the Pāṇḍavas, and lived during the period of the Bhārata war. Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaiśatravīrya, a prominent figure in the *Mahābhārata* story, is mentioned in the *Kāthaka Saṁhitā* of the *Yajurveda*, so that Kṛṣṇa lived before the compilation of the *Kāthaka Saṁhitā*.⁵⁶ The great battle at Kurukṣetra is a historical fact; but there are conflicting traditions regarding the date of the battle.

It is proposed to deal here in brief with the date of the Bhārata war after considering the important views on the point. According to the calculations in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II, the date of the Bhārata war is 3102 B.C., which is the starting point

55. From the name of the hunter, viz. Jara, it may be reasonable to infer that Kṛṣṇa died of old age.

56. Weber, *HIL*, p. 90 n.

of the Kaliyuga era according to the astronomical tradition represented by Āryabhaṭa.⁵⁷ C. V. Vaidya, Triveda and other historians lend their support to this view.⁵⁸ Fleet, however, has pointed out that the reckoning was not founded in Vedic times, but was first started after 3500 years after the time for purposes of calculations, and was not known to astronomers before Āryabhaṭa.⁵⁹

Another school of Hindu astronomers and historians represented by Vrddhagarga, Varāhamihira and Kalhaṇa places the Bhārata war 653 years after the Kaliyuga era, i.e. in 2449 B.C.⁶⁰ These two schools thus present conflicting views, and as they are based on a hypothetical reckoning of a late date, we can hardly attach much importance to these views.

Astronomical references in the *Mahābhārata* itself about the position of the Nakṣatras and planets have been utilised for determining the date of the war. But the same data have yielded such divergent results as 3140 B.C. (Rai), 3137 B.C. (Triveda), 3102 B.C., which confirms the traditional era of Kaliyuga (Vaidya, Abhyankar), 2449 B.C. (Sen Gupta), 1931 B.C. (Karandikar), 1400 B.C. (Deb), 1198 B.C. (Sankar), 1197 B.C. (Daftary), 1194 B.C. (V. G. Aiyer), 1151 B.C. (Pradhan), etc.⁶¹ As a matter of fact the statements in the epic are conflicting and self-contradictory, so that in order to arrive at some conclusion it is necessary to reject certain statements or their implications as later interpolations. No satisfactory and acceptable result can be arrived at from

57. *Et.* VI, pp. 11, 12; *Kālakriyāpāda*, st. 10.

58. *Mbh*, a criticism, pp. 65-92; *Festschrift Kane*, pp. 515-25.

59. *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 479 ff; 675 ff.

60. *Brhatsamhitā*, XIII, 3; *Rājatarāṅginī*, I, 48-56.

61. Rai, *PIHC*, IV, p. 115; Triveda, *JIH*, XVI, iii; Vaidya, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-92; Abhyankar, *ABORI*, XXV, pp. 116-136; Sen Gupta, *JRASB(L)*, III, pp. 110-119; IV, pp. 393-413; Karandikar, *POC*, XII, ii, pp. 474-80; Deb, *JASB*, XXI, pp. 211-20; Sankar, *ABORI*, XII, pp. 300-61; Daftary, *POC*, XII, ii, pp. 481-89; V. Aiyer, *CAI*, pp. 68-77; Pradhan, *CAI*, pp. 262-69.

these data. After setting forth the astronomical passages of the *Mahābhārata*, MM Dr. Kane rightly observes "that they are hopelessly inconsistent and that no certain chronological conclusion can be drawn therefrom".⁶²

C. V. Vaidya has shown that Megasthenes mentions 138 kings to have ruled between Herakles (Kṛṣṇa) and Sandrakottos (Candragupta) and allowing an average of twenty years for each king, Kṛṣṇa's period comes to be $(138 \times 20 = 2760 + 312 \text{ B.C.} =)$ c. 3072 B.C.⁶³

On the basis of the Purāṇic tradition about the number of kings that flourished in different dynasties between king Adhisimakṛṣṇa (great grandson of Janamejaya) and the coronation of Mahāpadma, Pargiter places the Bhārata war in c. 950 B.C.* According to him twentysix reigns intervened between these kings, and allowing a period of eighteen years per reign and taking the accession of Mahāpadma to have taken place in 382 B.C., the period of Adhisimakṛṣṇa comes to be $(28 \times 18 + 382 =)$ 850 B.C. And adding a hundred years for the reigns of intermediate kings between Yudhiṣṭhira and Adhisimakṛṣṇa, Pargiter arrives at $(850 + 100 =)$ 950 B.C. as the date of the Bhārata war.⁶⁴ It may be urged that the average of eighteen years for each king is rather a low average for the number of kings counted in this reckoning.⁶⁵

Pargiter's date is contradicted by the specific statement in the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* that between the birth of Parikṣit and the coronation of Mahāpadma there elapsed a period of 1050 (or 1015)

62. *HD*, III, p. 923.

63. *Mbh. Upasanihāra* (in Marathi), Ch. IV.

64. *AIHT*, pp. 179-83.

65. Cf. Mookerji, *HC*, p. 153.

* Pargiter's date is confirmed by the recent excavations at Hastināpura and Rupaṛ,—Ed.

years.⁶⁶ In fact this represents the Purāṇic tradition about the date of the Bhārata war. Dynastic lists or numbers of rulers in different dynasties as given in the Purāṇas are vitiated at places by inclusion of collateral names and numbers as also those of rulers of contemporary dynasties; but when a specific period is said to have intervened between two historic events, that period merits credence, though there may be differences with regard to the total number of years of various intervening dynasties or with regard to the number of rulers, etc. As regards the number of years, the readings are not uniform, and the number, according to the different readings, variously comes to 1015, 1050 or 1500.⁶⁷ The *Matsya* and *Vāyu*, the oldest Purāṇas, give the period as 1050, while in others the number is 1015 or 1500. In connection with 1500, the biggest figure in the readings, it appears that the inflated figure is due to the wrong inclusion of the Pradyotas of Avanti in the Magadha list and to taking the period of the Bārhadhrathas as 1000 instead of 723 years. The correct reading appears to be 1050 or 1015.

With regard to the particulars about the number of rulers and dynasties covering the above period, we find that, according to the Purāṇas, between Mahāpadma's inauguration and the Bhārata war, there ruled in Magadha, twentytwo Bārhadhrathas, five Pradyotas, and ten Śīśunāgas, who are variously said to have ruled for 1408, 1498 or 938 years.⁶⁸ Pargiter, however, rejects all these as also 1015 (or 1050 or 1500) as stated above, on the ground that

66. DKA, pp. 58, 74:

महापद्मभिषेकात् यावज्जन्म परोक्षितः ।

तावद्वर्षशतं ज्ञेयं दशपञ्चाशदुत्तरम् ॥

67. MM. Dr. Kane is inclined in favour of 1500 (HD, III, pp. 899-900).

68. DKA, pp. 13-22; AIHT, p. 179.

they give too high an average for each reign. If each king is taken to represent a generation when it is not clear that the succession had always been from father to son, and if a generation be measured by 25-33 years, as is usually done, the totals of 1015 (or 938) in the above data would not appear to be too high.⁶⁹ We are thus justified in taking the interval between the birth of Parikṣit and Mahāpadma's coronation to be 1015 years. This brings the date of the Bhārata war to $(1015 + 382 =) 1432$ B.C. This is "probably a fairly reliable tradition" according to Altekar.⁷⁰

Raychaudhuri has considered the data supplied by the *Vaṁśāvali* list of teachers in the Vedic literature, and has placed the Bhārata war in the middle of the ninth century B.C.⁷¹ But Altekar has shown that the arguments adduced are not sound and "more substantial evidence would . . . be necessary in order to establish the conclusion that the Bhārata war was fought as late as the ninth century B.C."⁷²

Starting his reckoning on the synchronism between Bimbisāra, Udayana, Pradyota, Ajātaśatru, Buddha and Mahāvira, Mookerji finds that Bimbisāra, Prasenañjit and Udayana belonged respectively to the 22nd, 23rd and 24th generation after the Bhārata war. Counting a generation at 33 years, he arrives at 1415 B.C. as the date of the Bhārata war for 24 gene-

69. Cf. Mookerji, *HC*, p. 153.

70. *PIHC*, III, p. 68.

71. *PHAI*, 4th Ed, pp. 27-29; 5th Ed, pp. 33-36.

72. *PIHC*, III, pp. 66-67. In the fifth edition of his *PHAI*, Dr. Raychaudhuri has tried to justify his position and to reply to Dr. Altekar (pp. 31-32), but without success. In connection with bringing down the date of the Bhārata war beyond ninth century B.C., reference may be made to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* tradition, which makes Udayana as fifth in lineal succession from Parikṣit (*KSS*, IX, 6-7). H. C. Seth places it in the sixth century B.C. (*PO*, VII, pp. 119-121).

rations before the Buddha ($24 \times 33 + 623 = 1415$ B.C.).⁷³

Altekar has dealt with the problem of the date of the Bhārata war from the Vaiśā lists of teachers and pupils in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Vaiśā Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Bṛhadarāṇyaka Upaniṣad*, and has pointed out that they show c. 1400 B.C. as the period of the Bhārata war.⁷⁴

Thus, after considering the problem from all aspects and by different reckonings, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Bhārata war took place about 1400 B.C.

(v) Finally we come to the different theories regarding Kṛṣṇa held by various scholars. The views of Bhandarkar that Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa were different persons, etc., have already been referred to. These views have been accepted by Garbe, Grierson, Jacobi, Winternitz⁷⁵ and others, and rejected by Hopkins, Keith, Raychaudhuri, and Chaudhuri.⁷⁶ We have tried to refute these views. Winternitz hints at there being a syncretism of three persons in the Kṛṣṇa story,⁷⁷ Kennedy says there were four persons thus syncretized,⁷⁸ and Sedgwick states that besides the syncretism of a historic and a divine hero, there was confusion of two historic heroes in the Kṛṣṇa story.⁷⁹ As regards the identity of Kṛṣṇa Devakiputra of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and Kṛṣṇa Devakiputra of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, Garbe, Grierson, Majumdar, Raychaudhuri, Von Schroeder⁸⁰ and

73. HC, pp. 153-4.

74. PIHC, III, pp. 69-71.

75. Respectively in ERE, II, pp. 535 ff; *ibid*, pp. 538 ff; ERE, VII, pp. 193 ff; HIL, I, p. 456.

76. Respectively in JRAS, 1905, p. 384; JRAS, 1915, p. 548; EHVS, pp. 35 ff; JBORS, 1942, pp. 384-405.

77. HIL, I, p. 456.

78. JRAS, 1907, p. 961.

79. JBBRAS, XXIII, pp. 115 ff.

80. Respectively in EPE, II, pp. 535 ff; *ibid*, pp. 538 ff; *Cult. Her.*, III, pp. 11-12; EHVS, pp. 78 ff; *Ved. Ind.*, I, p. 184.

others accept the identity, whereas Max Müller, Tilak, De, Macdonell and Keith⁸¹ deny the identity. We have already shown above that the latter view is more likely.

As regards the original human character of Kṛṣṇa which we have tried to prove, it may be stated that Bhandarkar, Bühler, Garbe, Grierson, Raychaudhuri, Seal⁸² and others admit that Kṛṣṇa was a human teacher. According to Barth, Kṛṣṇa is beyond all doubt a popular divinity, whom he considers to be a solar deity.⁸³ Grierson also finds connection between the religion preached by Kṛṣṇa and Sun worship.⁸⁴ But there is nothing to show the solar origin of Bhāgavatism.⁸⁵ Regarding Barth's view Keith has shown that no original solar character can be ascribed to Kṛṣṇa and that the very name Kṛṣṇa speaks seriously against the solar theory.⁸⁶

Hopkins describes Kṛṣṇa as a tribal god, who arose among the polyandrous Pāṇḍavas, one of the wild tribes in the Gangetic delta.⁸⁷ But there is no support for holding the Pāṇḍavas as a wild tribe, since the Indian tradition unanimously describes them as an off-shoot of the Kuru race.⁸⁸ The polyandrous marriage does not rule out the Pāṇḍavas as being outside the Aryan pale; for the Pāṇcālas approved of it, and the *Mahābhārata* itself speaks of such marriages among the Arvans. All the same, these marriages were exceptions. There is, again, no proof to establish that Kṛṣṇa was a patron god of any section of the Kuru

81. Respectively in *SBE*, I, n. 52 n. 1; *Gītārāhasya*, 1915, pp. 538 ff; *IHQ*, XVIII, pp. 297 ff; *Ved. Ind.*, I, pp. 184 f.

82. Respectively in *IA*, 1889, n. 189; *IA*, 1894, n. 248; *Philosophy of Ancient India*, no. 83-85; *IA*, 1908, p. 253; *EHVS*, Ch. I; *Comp. Studies in Vaisnavism and Christianity*, p. 10.

83. *RI*, p. 166

84. *IA*, 1908, n. 253

85. *De HSOS*, VI, no. 669-672.

86. *JRAS*, 1908, p. 171.

87. *RI*, no. 388, 466-7.

88. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *EHVS*, p. 43.

tribe. So, the theory of Hopkins remains unsubstantiated.

Keith regards Kṛṣṇa as a vegetation deity and states that the whole character of Kṛṣṇa both as a child and as a hero can be derived from Kṛṣṇa as the spirit of reviving vegetation.⁸⁹ The legend of Kamsa has been taken as a mythological invention based on the ritual of the child god and the slaying of a rival. But Kṛṣṇa's connection with cattle is no proof that he was a vegetation deity, because the Yamunā region has been well known for its cattle even in the early Vedic period. The *Mahābhāṣya* passage⁹⁰ about the slaying of Kamsa simply means that the countenances of the adherents of Kamsa and Vāsudeva assume different colours like red or dark according as their favourite hero is victorious or defeated. There is thus no allusion in the passage to the slaying of the black man by the red man or of winter by the spirit of spring and summer as contended by Keith.

A word may finally be said about Rādhā who plays so important a part in the late Bhāgavata religion. Though traditional pandits try to find veiled references to Rādhā in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, it is seen that the name occurs for the first time in the ninth century A.D.⁹¹ and that the Rādhā worship is a late growth in Bhāgavatism.

89. *JRAS*, 1908, p. 171.

90. The passage reads: केचित्कंसभक्ता भवन्ति केचिद्रासुदेवभक्ताः।
वर्णान्यत्वं सत्यपि पश्यन्ति । केचित्कालमुखा भवन्ति केचित्कस्तमुखाः।

91. Cf. Chatterji, *BSOS*, VIII, pp. 457-466.

Chapter VI

EPIC AND PURĀNIC STUDIES

Since the year 1917, the foundation of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, which has been taken as the starting point of this survey, there has been quite an amount of valuable addition of books and articles in the field of Epic and Purānic Studies, in common with other branches of Indology. These are necessarily of unequal merit and importance. In the following pages, it is proposed to review important publications concerning the *Mahābhārata*, *Bhagavadgītā*, *Rāmāyana* and *Purāṇas*, which appeared during the last thirty-seven years.¹

1. *The Mahābhārata*

One of the main tasks set before it by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute was the preparation of a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, and the publication of the different parvans of the *Mbh* constitutes the most epoch-making, stupendous and colossal work in India in the domain of Indological studies during the present century. The *Mbh* has always held an important position in the Indian Culture, and the need of a critical edition of the national epic was always felt and pressed by eminent Indo-

1. I must at the outset record my deepest obligations to my revered guru, the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, who not only placed his unique collection of articles and papers at my disposal, but also gave me valuable suggestions and notes, outlining the plan, especially regarding the *Mbh* studies. But for his help, it would not have been possible for me to complete the original paper within the limited time. I also thank my friend Dr. R. N. Dandekar for giving me an opportunity of surveying the Epic and Purānic material. I have taken this opportunity of further revising and adding to my original paper and bringing it up-to-date. For the last ten years, I have referred only to the most important publications.

logists like Winternitz and Macdonell.² Earlier studies of the *Mbh* were vitiated, being based on a defective text. In matters of grammar, metrics, history, religion and sociology, it was quite uncertain whether conclusions were based on old and genuine material of the epic or on mere variant readings of no great antiquity and authority. In the light of the critical edition, however, we can now point out the lapses of earlier scholars. That the statistics and conclusions of Hopkins regarding the epic metre will require to be revised is patent on the face of it, as some of the stanzas which form the basis of these conclusions have been found to be interpolations, and readings of many others in the vulgate have been changed; Edgerton has referred to some such instances.³ Sukthankar has pointed out the blunder of Oldenberg in regarding one passage as a survival from the oldest form of the epic, which MS evidence proves to belong to the latest interpolations in the epic.⁴ Edgerton refers to the waste of valuable time in interpreting defective readings of the vulgate text.⁵ It has been found that the vulgate modernised many of the archaic lines of the original.⁶ The large number of interpolations of chapters printed at the end of the critical text and of individual lines or stanzas printed in the footnotes, amply shows the amount of uncertain matter that may have crept into earlier studies and conclusions.

There has been a steady and persistent demand for a critical edition of the *Mbh* since 1897. The International Association of the Academies of Europe and America undertook the preparation of an international edition of the epic in 1904, and some preli-

2. Winternitz, *HIL*, I, pp. 467 ff; Macdonell, *HSL*, pp. 282 ff.

3. *JAOS*, 59, p. 185.

4. *Kane Festschrift*, p. 474 (n 7).

5. *JAOS*, 59, p. 368.

6. Sukthankar, *Epic Studies* (I), *JBBRAS*, IV, p. 161.

minary work was done, but the first world war prevented any further progress and the scheme had to be abandoned. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute formed an Editorial Board of eminent scholars for preparing the critical edition of the *Mbh* with Utgikar as the Editor. The late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the then seniormost Ācārya of Indology in Western India, inaugurated the work in April 1919 by writing the first *maṅgala śloka*: *Nārāyaṇaṁ namaskṛtya*, etc. The work proceeded on systematic and scientific lines. Utgikar pointed out, on a study of select chapters of the *Mbh*, that, contrary to the views held thereto the Devanāgarī recension also had a longer and a shorter text, and that an older text than Nilakaṭṭha can be arrived at.⁷ The preliminary work consisted of the preparation of tables of available MSS and collation of the text of the Parvasaṁgraha and consideration of the Javanese version of the *Virāṭaparvan* (which proved that the southern recension was studied in Java).⁸ Winternitz and Thomas approved of the scheme, and the tentative edition of the *Virāṭaparvan* based on sixteen MSS was published by the Institute in 1923. It contained 2050 stanzas, divided into 67 chapters. Orientalists the world over hailed the work with approval, and Winternitz in the course of his review offered some useful suggestions.⁹ Later researches have proved that Utgikar placed too much reliance on the Parvasaṁgraha data, believing it to be the same in both the Northern and Southern recensions, and relied on the Kumbhakonam Edition (which is really a curious blend of the N. and S. recensions) as the S. recension.

Utgikar, however, resigned in 1924, and next year Sukthankar took charge as the General Editor.

7. *ABORI*, I, pp. 145-155; II, pp. 73-77.

8. Utgikar, *ABORI*, II, pp. 155-188.

9. *ABORI*, V, pp. 19-30.

The first fascicule of the critical edition of the *Ādiparvan* appeared in 1927, and subsequent fascicules have followed at regular intervals. The complete *Ādiparvan* was published in 1933 along with the *Prolegomena*, which, though chiefly concerned with the *Ādiparvan*, covers practically all aspects of the *Mbh* text-criticism, and is a brilliant exposition of the entire text-problem. The publication of the critical edition of the *Ādiparvan* has rightly been acclaimed by Winternitz¹⁰ as "the most important event in the history of Sanskrit philology since the publication of Max Müller's edition of the *R̥gveda*".

From the first the undertaking of the critical edition was an epoch-making event in a number of ways. It was a national work. Nothing of the kind had been attempted in India before; and when complete, this huge, herculean work will pale into insignificance any literary event accomplished hitherto in India. The publication has been uniformly greeted with applause and approbation by all Indologists, and the resolutions of the All-India Oriental Conference, the International Congress of Orientalists and the American Oriental Society, expressing their approval of "the eminently satisfactory manner in which the work is being done by the Institute", bear ample testimony to the immense value of the critical edition according to competent academic bodies. The *Prolegomena*, to which we shall presently refer, has vindicated Indian scholarship in the eyes of the European scholars. The colossal task demanded in the editor philological acumen, keen insight—almost a sixth sense for spotting the right reading,—and Sukthankar possessed these qualities to a very high degree, being qualified for this "monumental task by learning, training, skill and enthusiasm."¹¹ Indeed no better testimony may be found to Sukthankar's

10. *ABORI*, XV, p. 159. 11. Dewhurst in *JRAS*, 1931, p. 466.

worth than the remarks of Winternitz who states: "Neither in India nor in Europe any one scholar will be found who could have done the work better than Dr. Sukthankar has done."¹²

The *Prolegomena* is a model of good temper, moderation and objectivity. It will ever stand as the basis of textual criticism for all further works in Indian classics. The *Mbh* text has been definitely established, at all stages of its history, to have been "fluid and carelessly guarded", affording easy opportunities of addition, omission, alteration, conflation, athetisation, haphazard synthesis of divergent readings and versions and other diaskeuastic activities, not only of careless scribes but also of a host of scholars, poets and reciters. The *Mbh* had all along been a living and growing text. The text tradition was not simple and uniform, but multiple and polygenous; and in the successive revisional and amplificatory activities it is now impossible to discover the elusive lost archetype. Hence the *Mbh* problem, as has been often repeated, is a problem *sui generis*,¹³ and the general principles followed in critical editions of classical texts in Greek and Latin can be applied only with great limitations and reservations to those in Sanskrit. It is impossible to trace a genealogical tree of all MSS of the *Mahābhārata*. The peculiar conditions of transmission of the epic necessitate an eclectic but cautious utilization of all MSS classes.¹⁴ For text reconstruction a thorough critical study of the complicated text material of the epic is necessary.

The chief scripts represented by the MSS are Śāradā, Nepālī, Maithilī, Bengali, Devanāgarī, Telugu,

12. *Indol. Prag.*, I, p. 67.

13. *JBBRAS.* IV, p. 157; *ABORI*, XI, p. 262; XV, p. 164; *IHQ*, XI, p. 598; &c.

14. *Prolegomena*, p. lxxxv f. As all my observations are based on the *Prolegomena*, I have not given references to it in order not to swell the footnotes.

Grantha and Malayālam. The MSS divide themselves primarily into the Northern and Southern recensions, and each is further subdivided into a smaller number of groups. The N. recension resolves itself into the North-Western represented by the Śāradā version (with its Devanāgarī transcripts), and the Central represented by the versions in Nepālī, Maithilī, Bengali and Devanāgarī; and the S. into the Telugu and Grantha, and Malayālam versions.

The secondary testimonia comprise the Javanese version (c. tenth century), the Āndhra adaptation by the Telugu poets Nannaya Bhaṭṭa (eleventh century) and his successors, the *Bhāratamañjarī* of the Kashmirian Kṣemendra (eleventh century), and the Persian translation made in the reign of Akbar. The versions of the different commentators such as Devabodha, Arjunamiśra, Ratnagarbha, Nilakaṇṭha, Vādirāja and Caturbhuja also figure among those whose readings are taken into account in the critical notes of the different parvans.

There is a large number of "misch-codices", MSS giving text not only of one particular version, but a mixture of the readings belonging to different versions and even recensions. The MSS material has been classified according to scripts. One of the remarkable results of the investigations of Sukthankar is the establishment, for the first time, of a Kashmirian version of the text. The "Śāradā Codex" was purchased by Bühler for the Bombay Government in 1875 and was lying unused on the shelves of the Deccan College Collection for 50 years until its resurrection by Sukthankar. The Kashmirian version has been proved to be the best and most authentic of extant versions. It is the shortest of all versions, interpolations in it being relatively few. Edgerton also admits its importance by calling it the 'oldest

and best' text,¹⁵ and Winternitz justifies the preference given to the Kashmirian version.¹⁶ It has, however, its own eccentricities. The Śāradā text thus is the *textus simplicior*, the southern text being the *textus ornatior*. The best representative of the southern recension is the Malabar version. The text has been constituted not on any subjective grounds, but on the clear evidence of the MSS themselves in order to purge it of numerous later additions, spurious ślokas and long passages.

The general principles enunciated in the *Prolegomena* have been proclaimed to be 'unquestionably sound' by all reviewers.¹⁷ Sukthankar has referred to some important principles which have been admitted by all:¹⁸ Agreement between the N. (Kashmirian) and the S. (Malabar) recensions has been taken as the greatest indication of originality. Where two classes of MSS agree in opposition to other two classes, preference has been given to that side on which the Kashmir MSS stand. Preference again has been given to the reading which best suggests how other readings might have arisen. Interpretation receives precedence over emendation, and the more difficult reading has been preferred to the simpler one. Hiatus is to be restored wherever we find variants in the MSS which may be explained by assuming them to be the different efforts by scribes unaccustomed to hiatus to remove the irregularity. Irregular *sandhis* also formed part of the original MSS tradition.¹⁹ The grammatical and metrical irre-

15. JAOS, 49, p. 283.

16. ABORI, XV, p. 169.

17. Cf. Winternitz, ABORI, XV, p. 169; Keith, IC, III, p. 768; Edgerton, JAOS, 48, p. 188; Banerji-Sastri, JBORS, 1929, p. 283.

18. ABORI, XVI, pp. 90-91.

19. Keith objected to the restoration of hiatus and irregular Sandhi (IC, III, pp. 768-771); but the oldest Nepalese MS has confirmed Sukthankar's view (ABORI, XIX, pp. 211-15).

gularities of the original are responsible for quite a large fraction of the mass of variations which the editors came across in the MSS. Sastri's view that the northern text is 'mutilated' has been proved to be untenable.²⁰ The constituted text based on eclectic principles will, no doubt, be more faithful than any single codex. Greatest difference of opinion, however, is possible with reference to the readings "less than certain", which have been indicated by waved lines, as the balance of the MSS evidence is equally divided in their case. Many critics (though admitting the soundness of the general principles) have indicated passages where they would prefer other readings, most of which pertain to the waved line readings. Sukthankar in his brilliant "Epic Studies" has stated reasons which have guided him in preferring the particular readings. The *Prolegomena* has once for all proved the futility of the Parvasaṁgraha argument, since the Parvasaṁgraha has been tampered with in different versions, and hence we must clearly abandon any hope of deriving any really useful information from it regarding the extent of the text. The established text is indeed a distinct contribution to the philological history of the epic in India.²¹

In spite of the difficulties and limitations in the way of text reconstruction of such a fluid and constantly changing text, the case is not so discouraging as might appear at first sight. There is a considerable part of the text where the N. and S. recensions are in full agreement, where there are no variants or

20. *Prolegomena*, p. xxvi.

21. Ruben and Raghu Vira are following the same technique and principles for their critical editions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and no better testimony can be found for the excellence and soundness of the *Prolegomena* than this transformation of an erstwhile critic into a staunch supporter. This is the greatest triumph for Sukthankar.

really no important variants at all. A considerable number of passages can be constituted with an amount of certainty by agreement of versions between which the chances of mutual borrowings or contamination are *prima facie* the least likely, such as e. g., those between Śāradā and Malayālam. Thus, a great deal of a fairly old text can be restored for further critical study, and this, in fact, has been done by the critical edition.

The constitution of the text of the critical edition has proceeded, as far as possible, on strictly objective evidence, all subjective considerations being eschewed as a matter of principle. As regards the comparative value, relative preference and importance of the different kinds of objective evidence, Sukthankar has formulated certain rules which may better be put in his own words:—

“The highest documental probability we can demand and expect is when all manuscripts of our critical apparatus—which is the same as saying, all our different versions—agree on a reading or a feature. We must accept this as original; at least we do not want to question it, at present. In the absence of such complete concord, the next best combination is the agreement between the Śāradā version and the Southern recension (against Bengali-Devanagari). Third in importance is, in my opinion, the concord between the Southern recension and the Bengali-cum-Devanagari version (against the Śāradā). Fourth in order stands the agreement between only Northern versions or only Southern versions *inter se*, which I consider, in general, of equal value. With a proviso that a passage or a stanza or even a line, which is not *necessary* to the context, may be rejected, if it is actually omitted entirely in even one of the important versions, since—as experience has shown—the

chances of conflation are always very much greater than those of accidental or intentional omission."²²

Seventy MSS in all were collated for the first two chapters of the *Ādiparvan*; but it was later found that five or six MSS of each class were sufficient to establish text of that version. Readings from fifty MSS have been given for the first two chapters, and from thirty-eight for the rest. The total number of *ślokas* in the *Ādiparvan* (according to the *Parvasamgraha*) is 7984. In the critical edition 121 long and 1634 short passages have been proved to be interpolations.

With regard to the readings adopted in the critical edition, it may be observed that subsequent researches have almost invariably confirmed the correctness of the readings of the constituted text. Belloni-Filippi, in his article on the Kadrū-Vinatā episode, justifies the excision of a passage (B. I. 22. 1-3 = No. 13 in App. I of the *Ādiparvan*), showing that the lacuna is only apparent and the *textus simplicior* is quite in order.²³ Lüders, on the ground of intrinsic probability, pleads for the preference of *satyaṁ cāmṛtam eva ca*, to which Edgerton had objected.²⁴ The oldest Nepālī MS of the *Ādiparvan*, 700 years old, confirms not only many of the disputed readings of the constituted text but justifies some of the emendations made by Sukthankar, and supports his views regarding hiatus and irregular *sandhi*.²⁵ This is unimpeachable evidence of the correctness of the method followed by Sukthankar. Katre has noticed that the use of the optative form *iyāt* is not due to an error or irregularity, but it was the regular optative

22. *Aranyakaparvan*, Intr. p. xviii.

23. *Accoli Mem.* Vol. 1930, pp. 174-180.

24. *OLZ*, 24, p. 1142 f.

25. "Epic Studies (VII)", *ABORI*, XIX, pp. 201-262.

form of the epic.²⁶ In the controversy between Johnston and De,²⁷ regarding *kāñcana* in *Mbh* V. 19. 15, the reading in the critical edition has been confirmed by *kāñcana-druma-saṁnibha* in *Mbh*. III. 40. 2. Edgerton in his "The Goat and the Knife" justifies the reading adopted by the critical text.²⁸ The division of the epic into 100 sub-parvans as listed by Sukthankar is corroborated by an old Gujarati translation of the *Mbh*.²⁹

The recorded variants of the critical edition of the *Mbh* have opened up a new vista in the history of Indian Linguistics by paving a permanent way towards linguistic geography, and Indo-Aryan linguists were not slow to grasp the importance of the rich field awaiting investigation. A critical study of these epic variants is sure to yield fruitful results which will throw new light on the problem of epic language and literature. The critical edition has, in fact, re-awakened general interest in the *Mbh* and given impetus to a number of subsidiary studies by Edgerton, Katre, Kulkarni, Mehendale, Sen Gupta, Shende and others.³⁰ Sukthankar's "The Bhṛgu and the Bhārata" is a fine specimen of higher criticism.³¹

Most of the reviews of the critical edition were critical and contained valuable material, instead of being merely formal; and in this connection, mention may particularly be made of those by Winternitz,

26. *JAOS*, 57, pp. 316-17; *NIA*, I, p. 536; *BDCRI*, I, pp. 8-13.

27. *JRAS*, 1939, p. 220 f; 1940, pp. 69 ff.

28. *JAOS*, 59, pp. 366-368.

29. Forbes Gujarati Grantha Mala, Nos. 15, 20. It is dated Śaṁvat 1644 (= A.D. 1587); it supports the critical edition in omitting the *Kaṇikanṭi*.

30. Shende and Kulkarni obtained the Ph.D. of the University of Bombay for their theses entitled "Bhṛgvaṅgīrasa element in the *Mbh*" and "Epic Variants."

31. "Epic Studies (VI)", *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 1-76.

Lüders, Keith, Edgerton, Weller, Lévi, De, Nag, Lesny, Belloni-Filippi and Pisani.

Following the same principles as laid down in the *Prolegomena* and under the direction of the first General Editor and with the help of his trained band of Pandits and scholars have appeared the subsequent volumes of the critical edition. Sukthankar's *Adiparvan* was followed by the *Virāṭaparvan* in 1936 edited by Raghu Vira; and it speaks very highly for the thoroughness and triumph of the principles and methods outlined by the General Editor that the editor of the *Virāṭaparvan* should admit that "the technique of reconstruction has been perfected to such a degree that the personality of the editor has been almost eliminated". As rightly observed by De, however, the skill and judgment of the mind that guides a critical work like this can never be dispensed with.³² The *Virāṭaparvan* is the "*maṅgala*" of the *Mbh* reciters, and the problem of the *Virāṭaparvan* within the *Mbh* is *sui generis*. We are told that nowhere in the entire *Mbh* two recensions recede from each other so widely as in the *Virāṭa*, the shortest of the major Parvans, and this would be evident from the fact that out of 1834 stanzas in the text, the editor is sure about only 300; the rest bear wavy line. The editor has utilised thirty-two MSS; his testimonia comprise not less than fifteen commentaries, Kṣemendra's *Bhāratamañjarī*, Javanese version, etc. For the *Virāṭa*, the Śāradā and Kashmirian MSS do not form separate categories: they are equally good. There are 1178 interpolated passages in the footnotes and 62 long passages in Appendix I. Various concordances have been given; there is also a comparison between the Javanese version and the critical edition.

32. *IHQ*, XIII, p. 370.

The *Udyogaparvan* made its appearance next in 1940 under the editorship of that seasoned scholar and well-known Orientalist, S. K. De. Thirty-seven MSS were used for the *Udyoga*, and the testimonia include commentaries by Devabodha, Arjunamiśra, Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, Śaṅkara, and Nilakaṇṭha. The number of short additional passages is 595, and of lengthy insertions 14. The wavy line is not much in evidence. The *Udyoga* differs from the *Ādi* and *Virāṭa* in that the N. and S. recensions do not recede very materially from each other with regard to omission, transposition and variation of continuous passages. Sukthankar's views about the flexibility of *sandhis* and metrically defective lines in the original text have been borne out by the *Udyoga* also. The critical edition gives the Parvasaṅgraha figure for the *Udyoga* as 6698, and the constituted text contains 6063 stanzas and 197 chapters. Readings adopted in the *Udyoga* on independent grounds are confirmed by the Javanese extracts supplied by Juynboll. De fully endorses the remarks of Sukthankar and Raghu Vira about Sastri's edition of the *Mbh*, which he calls a 'misch-edition', as the text is composite, containing much adventitious matter from the North. Sukthankar, Raghu Vira and De have definitely shown that Sastri places too much reliance on a single MS or a particular group of MSS which do not represent the best tradition of the recension, pins his faith to the Parvasaṅgraha figures of chapters and verses to which he makes his text conform by curiously strenuous manipulation of stanza and chapter division, against his MS evidence.³³ Thus Sastri's edition is far from being critical, but it gives a continuous southern version in a handy form.

The first fascicule of the *Āraṇyaka-parvan*, of which Sukthankar was the Editor, was published in

33. *Udyogaparvan*, Intr.

1941, and the final fascicule in January 1943, at the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, a few days before the sudden demise of Sukthankar. Twenty-eight MSS (plus two MSS not included in the Critical Apparatus) headed by the unique and valuable birch bark Śāradā codex, which presents the best and shortest version here also, were utilized for constituting the critical text. Two important testimonia, viz. Devabodha's commentary and the Javanese version, are lacking for the *Aranyaka*.

Considering the gigantic forest of ancient myths and legends in this parvan, its text is, relatively speaking, remarkably smooth, in relation to the *Adi* and *Virāṭa*, as may be seen even from such exterior factors as comparative paucity of important variants and of the editorial wavy line indicative of disconcerting parallelisms and uncertainties. It is worth noting that no MS calls it *Vana-parvan*, which is the name by which it is known in the vulgate and other printed editions. The critical edition has 16 sub-parvans and 299 adhyāyas; it presents the shortest text compared with the Calcutta, Bombay and Madras editions.

The episodic material of this parvan, comprising ancient *gāthās* and *anuvāṃśa* stanzas, stories, descriptions, discourses on moral, ethical and philosophical topics, etc., is not a subsequent elaboration secondarily introduced, but formed part of the original epic, its purpose in the epic being to fill up the "temporal hiatuses" in the narrative (viz. twelve years' exile, etc.). Similar material in the *Bhīṣma*, *Sānti* and *Anuśāśana* was also in the original epic. It may be observed that there are close and striking resemblances between many of these stories as found in the *Mbh* and the *Purāṇas*. Though in a few cases

the assumption of independent common source may be correct, in most cases compilers of the late versions of the Purāṇas have drawn their material from the *Mbh* narratives.

The *Aranyaka* presents a curious phenomenon in that in this parvan, the N. version is considerably longer than the S.; the vulgate contains fourteen whole adhyāyas which are entirely absent in the S. edition as also in the critical edition. The important and interesting legends of Nala, R̥ṣyaśṛṅga and Sāvitrī are critically edited here for the first time. The temptation of Arjuna by Urvaśī (App. No. 6), story of the killing of Naraka and rescue of the Earth (App. No. 16), and the visit of Durvāsas to Yudhiṣṭhira, etc. (App. No. 25) (and other lengthy passages totalling thirty-one) have been relegated to the Appendix on documentary and intrinsic evidence. It is interesting to note that the *Bhāratamañjarī* also omits these three incidents.³⁴

The *Sabhāparvan* was begun under Sukthankar as General Editor, and he had seen through the whole critical text, etc. Its final fascicule appeared under the General Editorship of S. K. Belvalkar.

Of the *Sabhāparvan*, edited by F. Edgerton, the first fascicule appeared in 1943 and the second in 1944. In all thirty MSS have been utilized for the *Sabhāparvan*. With regard to the classification of MSS, the Editor considers it more appropriate to assume three independent recensions instead of two, viz. Western (comprising Śāradā and K, i.e. Devanāgarī group allied to the Kashmir version), Eastern (comprising Nepālī, Maithilī, Bengali and Devanāgarī other than K) and Southern (comprising Telugu, Grantha and Malayālam). Among the commentaries used, Devabodha's text shows close resemblance to

34. *Aranyakaparvan*, Intr.

the Kashmirian recension, whereas Vādirāja's text belongs to the southern recension. Of the additional testimonia, the text of *Bhāratamañjari* was of minimal value, and no Javanese version of the *Sabhāparvan* is yet reported.

The constituted text is divided into 72 *adhyāyas*, —precisely the number in the *Parvasaṅgraha* (I. 2. 103). The total number of ślokas attributed to the *Sabhāparvan* according to the *Parvasaṅgraha* is 2511, whereas the critical edition shows 2390 (or 2432, if extra-length stanzas are reckoned as one and a half). The number of stanzas in Bombay and Calcutta editions is almost identical, viz. 2751, nearly 300 more than the number in the critical edition. Śaṣtri's text contains 4511 (or more than 2000 more than our text). The longest single insertion in Śaṣtri's text is the glorification of Kṛṣṇa put into the mouth of Bhīṣma in the Śiśupālavadhā episode (II. 34-40 in Śaṣtri) which is not found in Northern MSS.

Among the notable omissions may be mentioned (1) the celebrated prayer of Draupadī to Kṛṣṇa (B. II. 68. 41-46) when Duṣṣāsana was stripping off her garments,³⁵ and (2) the scene in which Kuntī takes leave of the exiled Pāṇḍavas (B. II. 79. 21-29), which have been excluded on the strength of conclusive MSS evidence. According to the Editor, from the artistic standpoint, the text seems to gain rather than lose by the exclusion of these.

The reference to the city of Rome (II. 28. 49) indicates the period not earlier than the first century B.C. as the date of the original.

As already stated, Sukthankar suddenly passed away on 21st January 1943, and his mantle fell on

35. *Sabhāparvan*, Intr. It may be observed that Winternitz had already recognised this as an interpolation, partly on textual grounds, partly because of the plot of the *Dūtāvākya* (*Festschrift Kuhn*, pp. 299-304).

the worthy shoulders of S. K. Belvalkar, and he has proved himself a capable successor by satisfactorily handling the problems relating to the *Bhīṣma* and other parvans. So far Belvalkar, as General Editor, has brought out the *Bhīṣmaparvan* and the *Sāntiparvan* (six fascicules) edited by himself, the *Karṇaparvan* (one fascicule) edited by P. L. Vaidya, and *Droṇaparvan* (one fascicule) edited by S. K. De. The *Sauptikaparvan* edited by H. D. Velankar and the *Strīparvan* edited by V. G. Paranjpe have been printed, but not yet released on account of some technical difficulties. R. N. Dandekar's *Satyaparvan* is almost ready.

The *Bhīṣmaparvan*, edited by Belvalkar, is based on thirty-four (plus four more for supplementary notes) MSS and five (plus occasionally three more) commentaries. The commentary of Devabodha was available for the entire *Bhīṣma* excepting the *Gītā*. The Javanese version, two epitomes, and Telugu and Persian translations have been referred to for critical purposes. The critical text contains 117 adhyāyas, and of longer additional passages there are only six. So far as the *Bhīṣma* is concerned, it is found that the main recensions are only two and not three as assumed for the *Sabhā*.

The text of the *Bhīṣma*, except in some ten or twelve chapters, is fairly smooth and the wavy line has not been much used. The *Durgāstotra* at the beginning of the *Bhg* and the repetitious episode of the death of Śveta in the account of the first day's battle are among the important passages relegated to the Appendix. Some late additions such as the *Viśvopākhyāna* (B. VI. 65-68; Cr. Ed. VI. 61-64) and the reduplication of the *Kṛṣṇapratijñābhaṅga* episode in the third and the ninth day of the battle, are found in all MSS, and are retained in the Critical edition.²⁶

26. *Bhīṣmaparvan*, Poona, 1943-47, intr.

Belvalkar has enhanced the value of the critical edition by introducing some new features in addition to those usual in the earlier volumes of the critical edition. The very useful "Pedigree of the *Bhīṣma-parvan* MSS" gives a clear idea of the interferences and contaminations between different branches of tradition and shows only a few MSS as the pure representatives of an unmixed transmission from the archetype. After the Appendices, there are "Critical Notes" dealing with textual criticism, interpretation of words and passages, comparison with other works, especially the Purāṇas, bibliography, etc.

Six fascicules of the *Śāntiparvan* and one each of the *Kaṇaparvan* and the *Droṇaparvan* have been published so far. In the absence of exhaustive critical introduction and appendices, which will appear in the final fascicules of the respective *parvans*, it is not possible to deal with these volumes in detail. We shall content ourselves with a brief outline of the critical edition of these *parvans*.

The total number of individual MSS utilised for the entire *Śāntiparvan* is fifty-two for the text and eight for the commentaries. Three very rare and important MSS were used for the *Śāntiparvan*, viz. (1) a unique Śāradā MS belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris; (2) a complete Bengali MS for the entire *parvan* bearing a date corresponding to A.D. 1687; and (3) the oldest MS for the *Śānti*,—the unique Nepali MS written in Maithili bearing a date corresponding to A.D. 1519. For the *Rājadharmā* section, the testimonia comprise of four commentaries (Arjunamiśra's *Bhāratārthadīpikā*, Vimalabodha's *Durgapārthaprakāśinī*, Nilakantha's *Bhāratabhāṣadīpa*, and Vādirāja's *Lakṣāṇikāra*), one epitome (Kṣemendra's *Bhāratamañjarī*) and one translation (Tikkana's *Āndhra Mahābhāratamu*). The *Mokṣadharmā* section, which contains several prose passages

divided into paragraphs of varying lengths, has the same testimonia, with the only difference that the following five commentaries were used:—Arjuna-miśra's *Bhāratārthadīpikā*, Nilakaṇṭha's *Bhārata-bhāvadīpa*, Paramānanda Bhaṭṭācārya's *Mokṣadharma-māṇikā*, Vidyāsāgara's *Vyākhyānaratnāvalī*, and Vādirāja's *Lakṣāṇmāṇikā*. The Appendixes to the parvan will consist of (1) Longer Passages, (2) Closer parallelisms between sections of *Mokṣadharma* and some Purāṇa texts, (3) Critical notes, (4) Concordance, etc. The General Introduction will deal with the critical estimate of the MS material used and a discussion of the several literary, historical and philosophical topics which will have to be considered in that connection. Belvalkar is the Editor of the *Śāntiparvan*.³⁷

The *Dronaparvan* is being edited by the veteran Sanskritist and well-known Indologist, S. K. De, who has already edited the *Udyogaparvan*. The constituted text, which approaches much nearer the Parvasaṁgraha figure of 170 adhyāyas as against 202 of the vulgate, is based on thirty-five MSS of different recensions and versions, the standard and method of text-reconstitution being almost the same as in the earlier parvans. Five commentaries, viz. by Arjuna-miśra (incomplete), Caturbhuja, Devabodha, Nilakaṇṭha and Vādirāja, have been used as testimonia. The largest insertion consists of twenty adhyāyas in the vulgate containing the legends of Mṛtyu (chs. 52-4), of Srñjaya and his son Suvarṇasthīvin (ch. 55) and the lengthy episode of Śoḍaśarājakiya (chs. 56-71), which are all really the secondary elaborations of the same legends and episodes found in the *Śāntiparvan* (Cr. Ed. 29-31; 248-50), and hence omitted—

37. *Śāntiparvan*, Fasc. 18-10 (*Rāiadharma*), Fasc. 21 (*Āpad-dharma*), Fasc. 22, 23, 24 (*Mokṣadharma*), Poona, 1949-53.

from the *Dronaparvan*. The printed fascicule runs up to *Abhimanyuvadha*.³⁸

Thirty-two out of a total of fifty-six MSS were used for the *Kaṇṇaparvan* edited by P. L. Vaidya, of which one fascicule has been published. The testimonia consist of four commentaries, viz. those by Arjunamiśra, Caturbhujaśra, Nilakaṇṭha, and Vādirāja, three epitomes, viz. Kṣemendra's *Bhārata-mañjarī*, Maladhārī Devaprabha's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, and Amaracandrasūri's *Bālabhārata*, and one translation, viz. Tikkana's *Āndhra Bhāratamu*. Several MSS, both in the N. and S. recensions, are not consistent in their values. An interesting feature of this parvan, as observed by Vaidya, is that some MSS, which in earlier stages, represented the northern recension, developed a tendency to go over to the southern recension.³⁹

We may now refer to some special features of the critical edition. Interpolations form an important aspect in this connection. We are apt to miss in the critical edition some of the interesting episodes which we were used to associate with the *Mbh*; but really speaking, we miss nothing of any importance in the critical edition. As regards interpolations, I may draw attention to the following that are the most interesting: Gaṇeśa episode; dramatic scene at the *svayamvara* of Draupadī; and *Kaṇṇikāniti* from the *Adiparvan*; *Durgā*-hymns in the *Virāṭa* and the *Bhīṣma*; Śrī Kṛṣṇa clothing Draupadī in the *Sabhā*; story of *Durvāsas*, when he comes to the *Pāṇḍavas* for dinner; and *Urvaśī*'s advances to Arjuna in the *Āraṇyaka*; one *adhyāya* from the *Sanatsujātīya* in the *Udyoga*, which has not been commented on by Śaṅkarācārya. Spuriousness of every one of these pas-

38. *Dronaparvan*, Fasc. 25, 1953.

39. *Kaṇṇaparvan*, Fasc. 20, 1950.

ages has been thoroughly established on indubitable MS evidence. As rightly observed by Winternitz, not even one of the passages relegated to the footnotes or the Appendix "will be found to be a real loss to the epic as poetry."⁴⁰

Attention may also be drawn to the important discoveries of Sukthankar. He brought to light the old "Śāradā Codex" and established the "K" version. Then he pointed out the importance of Devabodha's commentary, which was collated for the first time. One of the fruitful results of the search for old MSS of the *Mbh* carried on by the B. O. R. I. was the discovery of the oldest Nepali MS of the *Ādiparvan* by Rajguru Hemraja Pāṇḍit.

Before proceeding to the articles, let me emphasise the importance of the critical edition for scholars. Reference has already been made to the serious drawbacks of earlier studies owing to want of a critical edition of the text. Keith rightly stresses the value of the critical edition by observing that in grammatical, metrical, historical, religious or sociological studies it is important to see whether conclusions are based on old material or on mere various readings of no great authority. The critical edition supplies material for solving all these questions in an effective shape.⁴¹ Citations from the *Mbh* would nowadays be useless unless they are authenticated, so to say certified, by the critical edition. Therefore for all scholarly purposes the critical edition should always be consulted and cited for the parvans so far published by the B. O. R. Institute; otherwise the citations are as good as useless. Besides giving the critical text, the critical edition gives a digest of the manuscript tradition of the *Mbh* extending over nearly a thousand years. In the critical edition, as observed

40. *ABORI*, XV, p. 172.

41. Keith, *IC*, III, p. 767.

by Pisani, the editors have tried "to reach the form which the poem had before its spreading through India... the archetype which stands at the basis of the different recensions and branches of tradition."⁴²

Inseparably connected with the question of the critical edition is the series of "Epic Studies" by Sukthankar, which attempts to answer with great precision and in detail, some of the fundamental criticisms levelled against the principles enunciated in the *Prolegomena* or their application in particular contexts. In the first, entitled "Some Aspects of the Mahābhārata Canon,"⁴³ Sukthankar sets forth his reasons for adopting particular readings in the text objected to by Weller and Edgerton, and maintains the enumeration of exactly 100 sub-parvans in the Parvasaṅgraha list. Epic Studies II: "Further Text-Critical Notes"⁴⁴ states the reasons that guided him in his choice of readings in question, which have been criticized by Winternitz. It has rightly been observed that we are apt to prefer the readings of the vulgate which appear at first sight to be better than the constituted text. Ruben's criticism⁴⁵ of the principles underlying the preparation of the edition and the constitution of the text has been effectively met in Epic Studies III.⁴⁶ Ruben states the aims and methods of classical philology, and writes about their application to the problems of the *Mbh* textual criticism; but these cannot be applied to the *Mbh* in toto. Ruben further contends that the Śāradā MS as a matter of fact does not differ from other MSS,

42. *ABORI*, XXIX, p. 303.

43. *JBBRAS*, NS, IV, pp. 157-178.

44. *ABORI*, XI, pp. 165-191.

45. "Schwierigkeiten der Textkritik des Mahābhārata", *AO*, 8, pp. 240-256.

46. "Dr. Ruben on the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata", *ABORI*, XI, pp. 259-263.

and that every contextual criterion is problematic. The first evidently is untenable; and after detailed discussion, Sukthankar has shown that the criterion of intrinsic probability is not problematic at all, but quite definite and conclusive. "More Text-Critical Notes"⁴⁷ form the next part of the Epic Studies (IV). After referring to the points from the *Prolegomena* on which there was consensus of opinion among scholars, Sukthankar sets forth in detail his reasons for the choice of the readings in the critical text in view of Winternitz's preference for certain other readings in his review of the *Ādiparvan*. We shall later refer to "Mahābhārata Commentators" (Epic Studies V).⁴⁸ In "The Bhṛguś and the Bhārata" (Epic Studies VI),⁴⁹ Sukthankar has given myths and legends relating to the Bhṛguś occurring in the *Mbh* to show the vital part played by the Bhṛguś in the shaping and development of the epic. It is also shown that the original *Bhārata* became the *Mahābhārata* at the hands of the Bhṛguś. This highly illuminating paper has served as the basis of other articles and dissertations which have pursued the subject further.⁵⁰ In the next paper on Epic Studies (VII), "The Oldest Extant MS of the *Ādiparvan*,"⁵¹ which is 700 years old and hails from Nepal, is described with a facsimile plate, collated with the published text, and it is shown that the MS almost invariably supports the critical text.

47. *ABORI*, XVI, pp. 90-113.

48. *ABORI*, XVII, pp. 185-202.

49. *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 1-76.

50. Weller, "Who were the Bhṛguids?", *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 296-320; A. P. Karmarkar, "Dr. Sukthankar's Theory . . . and the light it throws on the Dravidian Problem", *ABORI*, XX, pp. 21-24; Agrawala, "Bhṛguvaṁśa sur Bhārata", *NPP*, Śrāvana 1997, pp. 105-162.

51. *ABORI*, XIX, pp. 201-262; "Epic Studies (VIII)" dealing with "Rāmopākhyāna and Rāmāyaṇa" is mentioned later on.

In connection with the reading *hāsyarūpeṇa Śaṁkaraḥ* (I. 57. 21) as against the vulgate *hāmśa-rūpeṇa ceśvaraḥ* supported by Winternitz and Meyer, Sukthankar has written a note under "Epic Questions (I): Does Indra assume the form of a Swan?"⁵² Additional evidence in the form of the newly discovered Nepalese MS has been adduced. It is doubted whether Indra in the context could have had any reason for assuming the form of Hāmśa as suggested by Meyer. The Hāmśa incarnation of Indra is shown to be "nothing more than a canard." The second article in the series, unfortunately the last published article from Sukthankar, appeared in the Silver Jubilee Number of the *Annals*.⁵³ It deals with the Parvasaṁgraha figures and shows how an exaggerated reliance on them would lead to misleading results and curious conclusions. A conspectus of the figures for the Adhyāyas and Ślokas of the eighteen parvans of the *Mbh* from the Parvasaṁgraha chapter according to the critical edition, the Javanese version, and the Southern recension by P. P. S. Sastri have been given in a tabular form, and observations on the figures of the table follow. There is another table giving the figures for the Adhyāyas and ślokas for the eighteen parvans arrived at by a collation of various extant versions of the Parvasaṁgraha chapter of the *Ādiparvan*.

Edgerton has started "Epic Studies: Second Series" of which Nos. 1, 2 and 3 deal respectively with (1) Grammar and Syntax, (2) Metre, and (3) Vocabulary in the *Sabhāparvan*.⁵⁴ S. K. De has given a list of words and phrases peculiar to epic usage in "Some Lexicographical Notes on the Udvogaparvan of the *Mbh*", the main purpose of the notes being to register and tabulate usages, rather than to

52. BDCRI, I, pp. 1-7.

53. ABORI, XXIII, pp. 549-558.

54. BDCRI, V, pp. 1-12.

attempt authoritative interpretation. The critical text has been used throughout.⁵⁴ In his "Mbh Notes," of which three have so far appeared in the *Annals*, and in another article, V. S. Agrawala discusses the words occurring in the Mbh. His "Śimśumāraśīraḥ" disputes the reading *śimśumārapurāṇ* in the critical edition (I. 176. 15), and maintains the reading *Śimśumāraśīraḥ* as preserved in the vulgate (I. 185. 16) on the ground that *śimśumāraśīraḥ* means *makaratoraṇa*, "the architrave of the gateway adorned with fish-tailed crocodile."⁵⁵ "Mbh Notes I" deals with (i) *vāraṇau śaṣṭihāyanau*, (ii) *dvaipa* and *vaiyāghra*, (iii) *upasytāḥ*, (iv) *haraṇa*, and (v) story of Yavakrita. It is shown that (i) at sixty an elephant is full grown; (ii) *dvaipa* and *vaiyāghra* mean chariots covered with the skins of *dvīpin* and *vyāghra* respectively; (iii) suggests *upasytāḥ* for *upasytān* in the vulgate (III. 240. 4-5), observing that Sukthankar has preferred *upasytāḥ* (Cr. Ed., III. 229. 5) as "undoubtedly the correct reading" "though rather feebly supported by the MS evidence"; (iv) *haraṇa* means a dowry or nuptial presents.⁵⁶ In "Mbh Notes II" Agrawala justifies the reading *prākāravapra* in the critical edition (IV. 10. 1) in preference to *prākāra-rakṣa* of the Kashmiri MS. It is shown that the term *prākāravapra* as the qualifying epithet of *kundala* was used in a technical sense as the name of a particular kind of ear-ornament (*kundala*). Illustrations of *prākāravapra kundala*, which is not found in post-Śūṅga art, have been given from Bharhut.⁵⁷ "Mbh Notes III" deals with (i) *Śimśumāraśīraḥ*, (ii) *vaiyāghra*, (iii) *Pūrva-Yāvata* and *Uttara-Yāvata* legends, (iv) *praveritā*, (v) *mahānarāṇa*, and (vi) *prati*. Agrawala shows that (i) *Śimśumāraśīraḥ* is to be preferred to

54a. *Dikshit Mem. Vol.* (BDCRI, VIII), pp. 1-33.

55. *JISOA*, 1939, pp. 168-9.

56. *ABORI*, XXI, pp. 280-4.

57. *ABORI*, XXIII, pp. 19-22.

Śimśumārapurāṇ stating that it is a very fit example of *lectio difficilior* and that the oldest extant MS of the *Adiparvan* from Nepal reads *śimśumārasiraṇ* and sets the seal of final approval on this debated reading. It is pointed out that feeble textual support is not the final argument in rejecting an otherwise superior reading; (ii) there are other references to *vaiyāgrha* in the epic; (iii) *Pūrva-Yāyāta* and *Uttara-Yāyāta* legends are authenticated by the critical edition; (iv) *praveritā* in I. 68. 73, meaning "thrown about, cast hither and thither, cast away", has connection with the dialectical Hindi root *pabeḍanā* also written as *paveranā*; (v) *maḥāparāhṇa* in I. 181. 40 is the *Āṣādhī* day; and (vi) *prati* in II. 5. 68 is the name of a coin.⁵⁸

Belvalkar has started a new series dealing with "Some Interesting Problems in *Mbh* Text-Transmission" that appealed to him while preparing the critical edition of the *Bhīṣmaparvan*. His studies of four problems have been published so far. Problem No. 1 deals with the repetition of two stanzas (B. 14. 25-26, absent in the Critical Edition, and B. 14. 57 cd-59 ab = Cr. Ed. 15. 53-54) which is found in ten out of fifty-nine MSS examined for the critical edition of the *Bhīṣmaparvan*. The problem considered is how the stanzas were shifted from the later to the earlier place in the *Mbh*. The explanation given is that the twenty MSS (10+9+1) which exhibit the three accidents of repetition, transposition and omission presuppose a parent MS with a loosened folio with missing folio number, which got misplaced. From the circumstance that no MS representing the Southern Recension is involved in these three more or less related accidents, but representatives of the Northern Recension (*Śāradā*, *Kashmiri*, *Devanāgarī* and even *Bengali*) alone are so involved, support is found for

the theory of only two main Recensions of the Mahābhārata text transmission adopted in the Critical Edition.⁵⁹ Problem No. 2 deals with the reading अन्तर्पोडाविकर्षणः adopted in Cr. Ed. VI. 55. 16 b. The stanza is B. VI. 59. 17=Sastri, VI. 54. 17. The vulgate reads:

विनिमिताः शरैः केचिद् अन्तर्पोडप्रकर्षणः ।

अभीताः समरे सद्यन् अभ्यधावन्त दपिताः ॥

There are no less than 22 variants (besides six found in MSS not included in the Critical Apparatus), of which classification according to the versions has been given. Only 9 of these 28 readings seem possible as they make some sense after slight correction. Rules about objective evidence have been formulated. But in cases such as the present one, where variants offered are so diverse and where nearly a dozen different interpretations of the pāda are possible, the problem is: Can we always avoid bringing in subjective considerations and choosing a reading which gives "the best" sense? The critical edition accepts the reading of the best MS, viz. Ś₁ (अन्तर्पोडाविकर्षणः) needing only a slight correction in the last two letters which was made on the basis of the readings of the allied MSS K 1-3 (पिणः for दपिणः). This is a legitimate procedure. Belvalkar rightly remarks that "a passage like the above is the despair of the text-critic".⁶⁰ Problem No. 3 deals with the repetition of the incident of Kṛṣṇa's rushing against Bhīṣma, which first appears in the third day's battle (in 55. 89-92, 98), in the tenth day's battle (in 102. 55-58, 64). It is shown that the reduplication of the incident on the third day is secondary, being an afterthought with the express purpose of engrafting the sectarian Viśvopākhyāna on the main story. Incidentally it is

59. ABORI, XXV, pp. 82-7. 60. ABORI, XXV, pp. 239-43.

hinted that the third was the penultimate day of Bhīṣma's generalship in an earlier stage of the epic. Belvalkar observes "that the present 18-day battle is frightfully padded up by reduplications, exaggerations and inventions of the miraculous is generally conceded."⁶¹ Problem No. 4 considers the question raised in the review of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* (JAOS, 70, pp. 117-119) whether, in admitting into the constituted text about a dozen passages omitted by practically the entire Southern recension, the principle enunciated by Sukthankar (*Prolegomena*, p. xcv)⁶² has not been seriously violated. The article deals exhaustively with all twelve cases and advances arguments in justification of their inclusion.⁶³

Now to turn to the other articles regarding text-criticism, interpretation, etc. Edgerton⁶⁴ has, on reconstructing a line from the *Sabhāparvan* with the first three syllables doubtful (B. II. 31, 72 ab; C. II. 1175 cd; Crit. Ed. II. 28. 49 ab), concluded that if Kern's identification of *Yavanapura* with Alexandria be right and if his own conjecture as to Antioch should prove to be a good guess, then this single line of the *Mbh* would refer to three most important cities of the Hellenistic-Roman world: Antioch, Rome and Alexandria,—evidently the oldest mention of Rome or Romans in Indian literature. In "The Goat and the

61. *ABORI*, XXVI, pp. 106-119.

62. "All lines belonging to one recension only, and a *fortiori* such as pertain to a combination of MSS amounting to less than a recension and which are not necessary for the context" have to be considered as additions and "placed in the footnotes or the Appendix, pending further inquiry regarding their credentials."

63. *ABORI*, XXXI, pp. 100-107.

64. "Rome and (?) Antioch in the *Mahābhārata*", *JAOS*, 58, pp. 262-265. Cr. Ed, II. 28, 49 ab reads:

अन्तर्ली (?) चैव रोमां च यवनानां पुरं तथा ।

Knife,"⁶⁵ Edgerton first gives the fable and refers to the corrupt vulgate text, II. 66. 8, which stands as II. 59. 9 in the critical edition. The vulgate is defective in three *pādas* and no sense can be made out of it. Edgerton stresses the importance of the critical edition by indicating "how much valuable time was spent by so many brilliant and distinguished scholars" like Pischel, Roth, Oldenberg, Ludwig, Keith and Andersen "in trying to make sense out of what now turns out to be merely a batch of late and corrupt rubbish."⁶⁶ "Epic *Trīṣṭubh* and its Hypermetric Varieties"⁶⁷ by Edgerton draws attention to at least two radically different types of *trīṣṭubh-jagati*, one found in the *Sabhā* and the other in the *Virāṭa*. Hypermetric *trīṣṭubhs* occur only in the *Sabhā* type, never in the *Virāṭa* type. Submetrical lines are very few. Lévi in his "*Tato jayam udirayet*"⁶⁸ translates the expression as "may one make victory issue therefrom" in preference to P. C. Ray ("must the word 'success' (*Jaya*) be uttered") and Nilakaṇṭha (*tataḥ*= under the influence of *Sarasvatī*; *jaya*=*Mbh*). He further states that the *Mbh* glorifies the Kṣatriya

65. JAOS, 59, pp. 366-8. Cr. Ed., II. 59.9 reads:

अजो हि शस्त्रममृततिलैकः
शस्त्रे विपन्ने पद्मिण्यास्य भूमि ।
निकृन्तनं स्वस्य कण्ठस्य घोरं
तदद्वैरं मा खनीः पाण्डुपुत्रः ॥

B. II. 66.8 reads:

अजो हि शस्त्रममिलतिलैकः
शस्त्रे विपन्ने शिरसास्य भूमौ ।
निकृन्तनं स्वस्य कण्ठस्य घोरं
तदद्वैरं मा कृपाः पाण्डुपुत्रः ॥

66. JAOS, 59, p. 367.

67. JAOS, 59, pp. 159-174.

68. BCV, pp. 97 ff. Eng. Trans. by L. G. Khare, ABORI, I, pp. 13-20.

caste and the ideal role assigned to it in the Hindu society, and points out to the Kṣatriyas the glory of the god who guarantees them success and safety. Rajaguru Hemaraja, the discoverer of the oldest Nepalese MS of the *Ādiparvan*, has contributed an interesting and instructive article in Sanskrit: "Some Reflections on the Mahābhārata",⁶⁹ which discusses some important problems connected with the history of the epic. He shows that there is no separate work called *Jaya*, but it denotes *Bhārata* and *Mahābhārata*, which are respectively by Vyāsa and Vālsampāyana, with 24,000 and 100,000 stanzas. He regards अष्टौ श्लोकसहस्राणि as an interpolation. Another extremely important paper is by V. Pisani entitled "The Rise of the Mahābhārata".⁷⁰ The author praises the critical edition of the *Mbh*, and regards the epic as the conscious work of a poet, in which didactic and aupākhyānic matter as well as single didactic episodes have been inserted according to a plan. According to Pisani, the *Bhagavadgītā*, is the heart and kernel of the *Mbh*; The author of the epic was a Brāhmaṇa and a Bhārgava, and he has employed the already existing material consisting of (i) the old *Bhārata* and *Mahābhārata*, (ii) single episodes relating to the heroes of the Bhārata saga, etc., (iii) edifying upākhyānas, religious and moral, (iv) Brahmanical traditions, etc., and to this he added his own creations: The *Mbh* has arisen between the second and fourth centuries A.D. Another equally important article is by R. N. Dandekar entitled "The Mahābhārata: Origin and Growth." Dandekar begins by stressing the importance of the *Mbh* and by giving views of several scholars about the origin and growth of the *Mbh*, which he has subjected to just criticism. His own view is that the beginnings of the *Mbh* have to be

69. *ABORI*, XVI, pp. 212-231.

70. *Festschrift Thomas*, pp. 166-176.

traced back to a period before the Vedic *Saṃhitās* came into existence. He finds that the beginnings of ancient Indian literature are characterised by two distinct literary traditions, which he calls the *sūta*-tradition and the *mantra*-tradition. The *mantra*-tradition, relating to religious thought and practice, soon came to be consolidated and began to manifest itself in fixed literary forms. The *sūta*-tradition, comprising a large amount of popular, bardic, legendary and historical material, however, continued to remain fluid for a pretty long time. The historical epic-poem, which dealt with the Bhārata war and was appropriately called *Jaya*, was the first literary monument belonging to the *sūta*-tradition. *Jaya* gradually became transformed into the epic *Bhārata* by the addition of many ancient epic lays. The rise of Kṛṣṇaism on the religious horizon of ancient India synchronised with the partially accomplished process of enlarging the historical poem, *Jaya*, into the epic, *Bhārata*. Kṛṣṇa soon became the central figure of the epic *Bhārata*, which is thus the result of the operation of the process of bardic enlargement and Kṛṣṇaite redaction on the historical poem *Jaya*. The elements relating to Brahmanic *dharma* and *nīti* were superimposed upon the bardic-historical elements derived from the *sūta*-tradition and the religio-ethical elements derived from Kṛṣṇaism—and eventually the *Bhārata* became transformed into the *Mahābhārata*. The Bhārgavas were primarily responsible for the Brahmanisation of the epic.^{70a} "Literary Styles in the Mahābhārata"⁷¹ is an article in Hindi by Agrawala, in which he refers to the seven different styles employed by the author of the epic as necessitated by different occasions. Dasharatha Sarma interprets the word "upatalpa" to mean "a small tower or tur-

70a. *University of Ceylon Review*, XII, pp. 65-85.

71. *Hindustani* (reprint), pp. 387-394.

ret".⁷² F. Otto Schrader in "Apocryphal *Brahma-purāṇa*"⁷³ shows that chapters 235-244 of the *Brahma-purāṇa* have been borrowed from different chapters of the *Sāntiparvan*, though many readings of the *Purāṇa* disagree with those in the *Sāntiparvan*. He suggests that at least a selection of these readings will have to be registered in the critical edition of the *Mbh*. A. P. Banerji-Sastri draws attention to "A Mithilā copy of the *Śalyaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*"⁷⁴ dated Śaka 1537, Samvat 1672 (i.e., 1615 A.D.), and gives variants with the Kumbhakonam Edition. Arabic version of the *Mbh* legend as translated into French by M. Reinaud from the original Persian work "Modjmel-altevarykh", has been given by R. G. Harshe.⁷⁵

C. H. Shaikh invites attention to the "Translations of the *Mbh* into Arabic and Persian."⁷⁶ "*Mbh* MSS in the Travancore University Collection" have been recorded by P. K. Narayan Pillai.⁷⁷ A. Esteller's "The *Mbh* Text-Criticism" is a review article on the *Sāntiparvan*, *Mokṣadharmā* (Fasc. 22), and considers the readings in the critical edition under (I) sample doubtful cases, (II) the problem of hiatus, (III) hyper-metric pādas, (IV) six-pāda ślokas, (V) the prose vs. verse problem, (VI) swapping tricks of the transmitters, and (VII) conclusion. He suggests that "a group of scholars should be set, under proper direction and supervision, to work on the parvans already critically edited in order to produce a systematic series of monographs on subjects likely to throw new light on the text-critical problems."⁷⁸ M. A. Chughtai describes the "Illustrated edition of the Razm

72. IC, I, pp. 682-3.

74. JBORS, XXVII, pp. 570-692.

76. BDCRI, V, pp. 267-280.

78. JBBRAS, XVIII, 242-58.

73. IC, II, pp. 591-2.

75. BDCRI, II, pp. 314-324.

77. Ibid, pp. 35-54.

Nama," a Persian version of the Epic made at Akbar's court.⁷⁹

Turning now to linguistic studies, we find that the critical edition has supplied vast material for systematic study in various ways, e. g., on regional basis also by grouping the variants under different heads with relation to the MS sources. De has rightly observed in this connection that if epic variants are studied in the same way as the Vedic variants have been studied, they are bound to add very considerably to our knowledge of epic language and literature.⁸⁰ Katre has referred to the usage of epic *iyāt* as equivalent of a general past tense, though optative in form.⁸¹ In "Verbs of Movement and their Variants in the Critical Edition of the *Ādiparvan*,"⁸² E. D. Kulkarni has presented the entire variant material according to the roots found in the constituted text, the variant forms being recorded in brackets, indicating the source of the reading concerned. Variants show the substitution of synonymic verbal bases for the difficult *iyāt*. Kulkarni has further written four articles on "Un-Pāṇinian Forms and Usages in the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*,"⁸³ In "Accusative Singulars of *asmad* and *yusmad* in the *Mbh*" Kulkarni shows that *on'* of *mām*, *mā* and *tvām*, *tvā*, critical study of the *Vana* and *Udyoga* unmistakably indicates that *mā* and *tvā* are favoured by the southern recension, especially Malavālam version.⁸⁴ M. A. Mehendale on a study of the absolutes in the Critical Edition of the *Virāṭaparvan*, finds that absolutes in *-va* far outnumber those in *-tvā*. Only two instances of irregular

79. *BDCRI*, V, pp. 281 ff.

80. *IBO* XI, p. 603.

81. *JACS* 57, pp. 316-7; *NIA*, I, p. 536; *BDCRI*, I, pp. 8-13.

82. *BDCRI*, II, App. pp. 1-113.

83. *ABORI* XXIV, no. 83-97; *BDCRI*, IV, pp. 227-45; *NIA*, VI, pp. 130-9; *BDCRI*, V, pp. 13-23.

84. *Siddha-Bhārati*, I, pp. 241-5.

absolutives of non-compound roots and five of compound roots have been recorded.⁸⁵ "The Dative and its Variants" forms the first of a series of articles on "Case Variation in the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata" by E. D. Kulkarni.⁸⁶

Now we come to the different papers dealing with the episodes in the *Mbh*. M. G. Panse has compared the Marāṭhī versions of the *Ādiparvan* by Viṣṇudāsa Nāmā, Muktesvara and Mādhava with the critical text of the *Ādiparvan*.^{86a} While presenting the story of Janamejaya's *Sarpasatra* and the legends connected with it, Winternitz⁸⁷ points out the striking parallels with similar myths of other countries; and concludes that the legend may have its origin in some prehistoric myth, or it may have spontaneously arisen in different countries from the same psychological motive of extirpating serpents. Utgikar considers the story of the Ṛṣi Aṇi Māṇḍavya in its Sanskrit and Buddhistic sources.⁸⁸ The comparison of the stories in the *Mbh*, *Purāṇas* and *Jātakas* shows that the story in the *Ādiparvan* is the original form from which the other versions were borrowed. Lacchmi Dhar Shastri, however, sees in the Aṇi Māṇḍavya episode in the *Mbh* a parallel to the accounts of Jesus Christ in the Gospels. According to him, Aṇi Māṇḍavya is "a representation of Jesus Christ in the *Mbh* in the most important aspects of his life and character", . . . and "the teaching of Aṇi Māṇḍavya represents the teaching of Jesus Christ, repudiates *Karma* and upholds faith, hope and charity."⁸⁹ In another paper, Utgikar compares the *Mbh* and *Jātaka* versions

85. BDCRI, I, pp. 71-3.

86. *Ibid.*, pp. 318-326.

86a. "Episodical Variants in the Marāṭhī Versions of *Ādi Parvan* as compared with the Critical Text", *ABORI*, XXV, pp. 188-218.

87. Eng. trans. by Utgikar in *JBBRAS*, II, pp. 115-134.

88. *POC*, II, pp. 221-238.

89. *OC. Summaries*, XI, p. 183

of several legends common to both.⁹⁰ The text of the story of Yayāti as found in the *Mbh* and the *Mat-syapurāṇa* has been compared by G. P. Dixit,⁹¹ principally from the metrical point of view; and the conclusion is that the metres of the *Matsya* belong to a later period of development than those of the *Mbh*. L. Hilgenberg in *Die Kosmographische Episode im Mahābhārata und Padmapurāṇa*⁹² critically investigates the relation of *Mbh* cosmography with that given in the *Padma* and other *Purāṇas*, and concludes that the *Mbh* account is based on the *Padmapurāṇa*, and that both these accounts are based on what Kirfel calls the longer group of the *Purāṇas*, while some passages come also from the relatively very late shorter group. Belvalkar, however, examines the same relation giving citations from both texts, and proves the posteriority of the *Padmapurāṇa* version.⁹³ M. V. Vaidya compares the Tirthayātrā in the *Aranyakaparvan* (III. 80-83) and the *Padmapurāṇa*⁹⁴ (ĀSS, I. 10-39), and concludes that the *Padma* definitely borrowed Tirthayātrā from the Bengali version of the northern recension of the *Aranyakaparvan*. H. G. Narahari draws attention to three recensions of the "Legend of Śunaḥ-śepa,"⁹⁵ and shows that the Vedic version is the most popular of the three, the other two versions being given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Weller refers to the Mandapālā episode in his text-criticism of the *Mbh*.⁹⁶ G. H. Bhatt has written on the Draupadīvastraharaṇa: an interpolation in the *Mbh*.^{96a} S. C. Mitra points to the parallelism between the

90. JBBRAS, 1930, pp. 115-134.

91. POC, V, pp. 721-788.

92. Stuttgart, 1934.

93. Festschrift Thomas, pp. 19-28.

94. Festschrift Kane, pp. 530-537.

95. Ibid, pp. 302-307.

96. "Zur Text-Kritik des Mahābhārata." Festschrift Winternitz, pp. 37-40.

96a. JOR, XVIII, pp. 170-78.

Mbh legend about Bhīma's slaying the demon Vaka (Baka) and the Greek myth of Perseus and Andromeda and the Japanese myth about Tokoya's killing of the evil god.⁹⁷ The *Mbh* legend of Vṛṣaketu is shown similar to the Old Testament legend about Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac.⁹⁸ In "The Palace of Hiranyakaśipu", M. V. Vaidya considers the story of Hiranyakaśipu, occurring in two distinct forms in the Purāṇas. The description of Hiranyakaśipu's *sabhā* in the Purāṇas presents striking parallelisms with about two dozen stanzas from the *Sabhāparvan*. As against Hopkins who holds the description of the different *sabhās* in the epic to be late,⁹⁹ it is shown that the *Mbh* is the source-book of the Purāṇas in this case.¹⁰⁰ In connection with the expression *Dharmapāśa* associated with Varuṇa in the *Mbh* (II. 9. 17 and V. 126. 46) V. M. Apte investigates the problem of the origin and development of the *pāśa* conception in Vedic literature. According to him *Ṛta* (the belt of the Zodiac), which is the special charge of Varuṇa among the gods, represents the physical basis of the conception of his *pāśa* which is fundamental to his character as the All-Binder or All-Encompasser. This *Ṛta*, as the *pāśa* of Varuṇa, is the *Dharmapāśa*, the noose of Right, which is spoken of in the *Mbh*.¹⁰¹

Some papers deal with the *Mahābhārata* citations. In "Mahābhārata and Ancient Commentaries," Kane¹⁰² brings together verses quoted from the Great Epic in ancient commentaries and works including those of Śabara, Kumārila, Śaṅkara,^{102a} and traces them to

97. *JASB*, XV, 7, pp. 653-5.

98. *Ibid*, pp. 644-9.

99. *Epic Mythology*, p. 58 n 1.

100. *ABORI*, XXIII, pp. 609-620.

101. "Rgvedic antecedents of the Dharma-pāśa of Varuṇa mentioned in the *Mbh*", *BDCRI*, V, pp. 163-196.

102. *ABORI*, XIX, pp. 161-172.

102a. Written either as Śaṅkara or Śaṅkara.

the vulgate. In another paper, Kane traces the quotations in very ancient *Dharmasūtras* and other works such as *Manābhāṣya*, *Apastamba Dharma-sūtra*, *Baudhāyana Dh.S.*, *Vasiṣṭha*, *Yājñavalkya*, etc. to the *Mbh*.¹⁰³ He suggests that *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* was originally one work which split up into two, i. e. *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa*, and later into a number of *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*. Renou traces imitations of the *Rgveda* hymns and passages in connection with the hymn to *Aśvins* in the *Ādiparvan* (I. 3. 60-70).¹⁰⁴ V. M. Apte deals with 20 passages appearing as *Rgveda* citations in the *Mbh* tracing them to their sources.¹⁰⁵ In "*Mbh* citations in the *Śabarabhāṣya*", Apte and Garge enumerate passages from the *Mbh* occurring in the *Śabarabhāṣya*.¹⁰⁶ Kane gives one verse in *Śabara* on *Jaimini VIII. 1.2*, which Apte and Garge failed to note, which is *Mbh*, Cr. Ed. I. 1. 49. Kane observes in this connection that if it be accepted that *Śabara* quotes from the *Mbh* in this case, it will have an important bearing on the authenticity and antiquity of the *Anukramaṇikāparva*.¹⁰⁷

Commentaries play an important part in the *Testimonia* of the Critical Edition. In "*Epic Studies (V)*", Sukthankar writes about the *Mbh* commentators.¹⁰⁸ Twenty-two commentators have been enumerated, most of whom are older than the MSS utilised for the critical edition. Devabodha, the oldest commentator on the *Mbh*, shows close affinity with the *Śāradā* and *K* versions. He supports the critical edition in omitting the *Kaṇikanīti*. The chronological order established by Sukthankar for the *Mbh* com-

103. *Festschrift Thomas*, pp. 128-133.

104. *Ibid*, pp. 177-187.

105. *Festschrift Kane*, pp. 26-38.

106. *BDCRI*, V, pp. 221-229.

107. *ABORI*, XXVIII, pp. 135-6.

108. *ABORI*, XVII, pp. 185-202.

mentators runs: Devabodha - Vimalabodha - Sarvajñanārāyaṇa - Arjunamiśra - Nilakaṇṭha. Sarvajñanārāyaṇa can be placed between 1100—1300 A.D. Arjunamiśra's MS is dated 1534 A.D., and he is placed c. 1300 A.D. by J. C. Ghose,¹⁰⁹ and between 1400—1500 A.D. by Gode.¹¹⁰ The latter scholar has written on the chronology of some commentators of the *Mbh*. The date of Vimalabodha's commentary on the *Mbh* called *Viṣamaśloki* is stated to be after 1150 A.D.¹¹¹ As against Sastri's date of 1339 A.D. for Vādirājatīrtha, Gode proves him to belong to 1571 A.D.¹¹² Ānandapūrṇa was hitherto posted to the sixteenth century; Gode, however, fixes the limits of the date of Ānandapūrṇa (alias Vidyāsāgara) between 1200—1350 A.D.¹¹³ Raghavan puts Ānandapūrṇa Vidyāsāgara at about 1350 A.D. on the ground of the contemporaneity of Kāmadeva and Ānandapūrṇa, the former of whom can be assigned to 1350 A.D. on inscriptional data.¹¹⁴

In his article on "Vidyāsāgara's commentary on the *Mbh*" D. C. Bhattacharya tentatively places the author about 1700 A.D.¹¹⁵ Gode, however, has dealt with the date of Vidyāsāgara alias Ānandapūrṇa in his article immediately following Bhattacharya's paper. Gode fixes the date, referring to his earlier paper and the one by Raghavan, to about 1350 A.D. He further shows that the Rajshahi MS of the *Ādi-parvan* commentary of Vidyāsāgara mentions twelve commentators on the *Mbh*, of whom (1) Jagaddhara, (2) Jñānārdana, (3) Muni, (4) Vidyānidhibhatta, and (5) Śrīśīdhara are not found in Sukthankar's list. In

109. *JC*, I, pp. 706-710; II, pp. 585-589.

110. *JC*, II, pp. 141-146.

111. *ABORI*, XVII, pp. 394-397.

112. *Ibid.*, no. 203-210.

113. *BISMQ*, XX, pp. 29-36.

114. *Beprint*, no. 1-5 (*AOI*).

115. *ABORI*, XXV, pp. 99-102.

view of Vidyāsāgara's date, all these commentators have to be placed before 1350 A.D.¹¹⁶ In his "Notes on some Mbh Commentaries" Raghavan writes on the fragment of a commentary by Varadarāja, and commentaries by Yajñanārāyaṇa and Anandapūrṇa.¹¹⁷ In contrast to C. V. Vaidya's view taking Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara to have flourished about 400 years ago, Gode places him in the period 1650-1700, i.e. about 260 years ago.¹¹⁸ Gode has further exhaustively dealt with the genealogy and descendants of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara in another paper.¹¹⁹ Devabodha's commentary on the four parvans of the Mbh, entitled *Jñānadīpikā* (Mahābhārata-tātparya-ṭīkā), has been published hitherto. Dandekar edited the *Jñānadīpikā* on the *Adiparvan*,¹²⁰ while De. Belvalkar and Karmarkar have brought out the editions respectively on the *Udyonaparvan*,¹²¹ *Bhīṣmaparvan*¹²² and *Sabhāparvan*.¹²³

Before turning to the papers on the date of the Bhārata war, let us deal with the problem of the Parvasaṁgraha figures, to which reference has already been made in connection with Sukthankar's articles. Sukthankar attached no importance to the Parvasaṁgraha figures. In computing the total number of stanzas for a particular parvan, much depends on the method of counting śloka. In an article on "the Interpretation of the Parvasaṁgraha Figures,"¹²⁴ Belvalkar has explained the three

116. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

117. *Festschrift Kane*, pp. 351-5.

118. *Mīmāṃsā Prakāśa*, III, pp. 63-71.

119. *ABORI*, XXIII, pp. 146-161.

120. Poona, 1943, Reprint, Poona, 1954.

121. Bombay, 1944.

122. Poona, 1947.

123. Poona, 1949.

124. *ABORI*, XXVII, pp. 303-309.

methods of the computation of śloka which equalled 32 syllables. (1) The first is the official method in which every stanza—whether in Anuṣṭubh, Triṣṭubh or any other metre, whether regular, hyper-metric or sub-metric—was regarded as just one stanza, while for prose passages the unit consisted of the numbered sentences or periods of varying lengths as found in MSS. Colophons at the end of chapters and the uvāca references were ignored in this method. (2) The unit in the scribe's method consisted of a group of 32 syllables and included not only colophons and uvāca references but *daṇḍas*, double *daṇḍas* and stanza-numbers also if given in the MS. (3) The reciter's method, analogous to the scribe's method, includes colophons and uvāca references, but ignores *daṇḍas*, double *daṇḍas*, *avagrahas* and other silent punctuations, i.e. everything that would not be included in an actual recitation. According to Belvalkar, the Parvasaṃgraha total of ślokas was reached by following the "official" method described above.

D. D. Kosambi, however, states that the Parvasaṃgraha figures were counted on the basis of what Belvalkar styles the reciter's method, which he calls mathematical method. He states that the Parvasaṃgraha section of the *Mbh* represents accurate counts of the number of syllables in a particular recension of the *Mbh*.¹²⁵ His study of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* counts shows that the published critical text is nearest to the Parvasaṃgraha figure (5884), which also agrees with the Parvan-colophons of Belvalkar's *S₁ K₀₋₃ D₀*.¹²⁶ As regards the *Gītāmāna* stanza, according to Kosambi, the total count, including uvāca insertions and colophons, gives 743 ślokas of 32 syllables each, which is near 745.

125. *JAOS*, 66, pp. 110-7.

126. *JAOS*, 71, pp. 21-22.

Belvalkar criticizes Kosambi's view by stating that the reciter's method is not endorsed by writers like Śaṅkara, nor is it in vogue among scribes; the reciter's method cannot turn 700 official stanzas of the *Bhagavadgītā* into 745 "mathematical" stanzas, nor is the distribution of Gītāmāna among the four speakers (Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna, Sañjaya and Dhṛtarāṣṭra) borne out by the "mathematical" count; in contrast to the official method according to which the actual stanza-total of a Parvan from the Critical Edition is slightly behind the Parvasaṁgraha total, the reciter's method gives an excess of about 88 stanzas for the Critical Edition of the *Sābhāparvan* only. Recently M. V. Vaidya has considered the reliability of the Parvasaṁgraha figures in his "Extent of the *Mbh*". In his opinion, although the Parvasaṁgraha figures can claim comparative fixity on account of their being critically edited, they are by no means of any regulative value or final reliability; the Parvasaṁgraha section was probably added after the epic had branched off into recensions; the 'mathematical' theory about Parvasaṁgraha figures is only good in parts; and the Parvasaṁgraha figures "recognised no other than the unfortunately pedestrian method of 'official' computation."¹²⁷

About the chronology of the Bhārata war, it is well known that the orthodox view holds the Bhārata war to have taken place about 5000 years ago. D. S. Trivedi has taken up that position, and he maintains it on the evidence of historical works, astronomy, etc., concluding that the war was fought in 3137 B.C.¹²⁸ According to P. C. Sengupta, some astronomical references from the *Mbh* point to 2449 B.C. as the date of the Bhārata war.¹²⁹ He has again

127. Karmarkar *Comm.* Vol., pp. 77-81.

128. *JH*, XVI, iii; *Festschrift Kane*, pp. 515-525.

129. *JRASBL*, III; *Sc & C*, V, pp. 26-29.

written on Bhārata battle traditions, wherein he examines three traditions, viz. (i) Āryabhaṭa—3102 B.C., (ii) Vṛddhagarga—2449 B.C., and (iii) Purāṇic—stating the interval between the birth of Parikṣit and coronation of Mahāpadma to be 1015, 1050, 1125 or 1500 years. He relies on Vṛddhagarga tradition, which shows that the Yudhiṣṭhira era began in 2449 B.C. and concludes, on the evidence of the *Mbh* itself, that the great fight took place the same year.¹³⁰ The Āryabhaṭa tradition and Purāṇic evidence, which run counter to this date, are regarded as erroneous by Sengupta. Deb assigns the Bhārata war to 1400 B.C. after considering the astronomical data from Āryabhaṭa and Varāhamihira, and the reign-periods and astronomical observations in the Purāṇas.¹³¹ J. S. Karandikar has shown that the Bhārata war started on the first day of Mārgaśīrṣa, and the year was 1931 B.C.¹³² Reference has already been made earlier to the views of Abhyankar, Pradhan, Sankar and others about the date of the Bhārata war.¹³³ According to V. B. Athavale, the three criteria mentioned in the *Mbh* as observed before the Bhārata war, viz. (i) two eclipses, solar and lunar, occurring after an interval of thirteen days and visible in October (Āśvina and Kārttika), (ii) a comet in Puṣya visible in the same month, and (iii) Jupiter and Saturn staying in Viśākhā for one year, point to 3016 B.C. as the date of the Bhārata war.¹³⁴ In "So-called Geographical and Astronomical Evidence to the *Mbh* Problem", P. R. Chidambar Iyer draws attention to the flaws in the calculations of V. B. Athavale based on certain seismological and astronomical evidence

130. *JRASBL*. IV, pp. 393-413.

131. *JASB*. XXI, pp. 211-220.

132. Sep. Paper; also *POC*. XII, ii, pp. 472-480.

133. *Vide supra*, pp. 74-79.

134. "The Exact Date of the Kuru War", *JGJRI*. III, 1.

found in the *Mbh* suggesting 3016 B.C. as the date of the Bhārata war.¹³⁵ He arrives at 3038 B.C. as the year of the Bhārata war on the basis of the chronogram *muñcatigātram*.¹³⁶ He believes that the *Mbh* texts contain chronological information couched in sentences composed in *Kaṭapayādi* system of alphabetical notation. *Muñcatigātram* shows the date of Bhīṣma's death "which is equal to 23665 days from the beginning of the Kaliyuga" i.e. year 3038 B.C. Tarakeswar Bhattacharya,¹³⁷ in reply to Sengupta's rejoinder which points out difficulties in accepting 1432 B.C. as the date and maintains 2449 B.C. as the correct date,¹³⁸ sticks to his own suggestion (1432-31 B.C.) as the date.¹³⁹ In "Astronomical Classification of the *Mbh* Text," M. Raja Rao shows that 2442 B.C. satisfies the Maghā grouping and 2420 B.C. satisfies the Jyēsthā grouping as the date of the Bhārata war. The probabilities are all in favour of some date in the twenty-fifth century B.C. The author groups the astronomical data into seven independent sets which, according to him, point towards seven main versions of the Bhārata story or seven substantial modifications of Vyāsa's text.^{139a} H. C. Seth brings down the date of the Bhārata war to the sixth century B.C., when the Brāhmaṇa literature is believed to have been in the midst of its development.¹⁴⁰ He further suggests that "Cyrus may be the Kuru prince, Duryodhana, and the battle which Cyrus fought against the Indians and his defeat formed the nucleus round which the *Mbh* epic grew up."¹⁴¹

135. JGJRI, IV, 1.

136. "The Year of the Bhārata War as disclosed by Bhīṣma chronogram *muñcatigātram*", *ABORI*, XXVIII, pp. 65-83.

137. JGJRI, VIII, iv.

138. *Ibid.*, iii.

139. *Ibid.*, 1.

139a. *BV*, X, pp. 104-132.

140. "Date of the Bhārata Battle", *PO*, VII, pp. 119-121.

141. "Cyrus the Great and the Battle of the *Mbh*", *NUJ*, No. 6, pp. 31-40.

Cosmography and geography of the *Mbh* form part of a number of articles. The renowned scholar of the Great Epic, Hopkins, in "The Epic View of the Earth" refers to the seven great mountains and rivers as also to the peoples of India as stated in the *Mbh*.¹⁴² Kasten Ronnow suggests the identity of the *Sveta-dvīpa* mentioned in the *Mbh* with the Buddhist heavens by pointing out some similarities between them.¹⁴³ On the strength of a reading found in an old *Mbh* MS, Jaya Chandra Vidyālaṅkāra states that Ulūka mentioned in the *Digvijayaparvan* in connection with Arjuna's northern conquest is a misreading for Kulūta, which was the ancient name of the modern Kullu.¹⁴⁴ H. C. Raychaudhury has brought out some of his articles about Indian Cosmography from the Epics and the Purāṇas in book form.¹⁴⁵ Mention may be made of "The Study of Ancient Indian Geography", which specifically refers to the *Mbh*; and "India in Purāṇic Cosmography" and "The Mountain System of the Purāṇas" which mainly concern the Purāṇas though the *Mbh* is incidentally referred to at places.¹⁴⁶ Various ancient Indian tribes have been the pet subject of a number of interesting and important studies by B. C. Law. His "Mountains and Rivers of India"¹⁴⁷ and "Countries and Peoples of India"¹⁴⁸ bring together much valuable matter not only from the epics and the Purāṇas, but from the Buddhist sources, travel accounts, etc. as well. Attention may be drawn in this connection to his excellent and well-documented monograph on *Tribes in Ancient India* published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in 1943. It deals exhaustively with 148

142. *JISVR*, I, pp. 65-87. 143. *BSOS*, V, ii.

144. *JBORS*, XX, March 1934.

145. *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, Calcutta, 1932.

146. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 37-46; 61-93; 94-136.

147. *JDL*, XXVII.

148. *ABORI*, XVII, pp. 217-242; 319-339; cf. also *Festschrift Kane*, pp. 278-281; *ABORI*, XXI, pp. 203-212.

major and minor tribes in the whole of India with complete references. In "Saptadvipā Pṛthivī" (illustrated), H. R. Mankad points out differences in Eastern and Western cartography and identifies seven islands and oceans.¹⁴⁹ T. S. Shejwalkar's "Mbh data for Aryan expansion in India" refers to two sets of narration in the *Mbh*, viz. that of Pulastya and of Dhaumya. According to the author, Dhaumya's narration relates to the period preceding the colonisation of Videha, Aṅga, etc. It indicates Aryan penetration in the Deccan by the same route which Rāma is said to have followed in the Rām; Paraśurāma had not reached eminence then; Prayāga and Puṣkara were not Tirtharājas; and Vārāṇasī is not even mentioned.¹⁵⁰ "Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mbh Upāyana Parva"¹⁵¹ by Moti Chandra is based on Chs. 47 and 48 of the *Sabhāparvan*. While describing in detail the presents brought to Yudhiṣṭhira at the Rājasūya by kings of the four quarters it incidentally presents a graphic picture of the geography of Epic India mentioning the tribal republics and monarchies and the chief characteristic products of each country.

Finally we turn to general articles dealing with the authorship, poetry, philosophy, mythology and miscellaneous matters connected with the *Mbh*. With regard to the "Authorship of the Mbh,"¹⁵² N. J. Shende states that Bhṛgu and Aṅgirasas, as the most influential Brāhmaṇas, seem to have made united efforts as religious reformers championing the cause of Brahmanism, as appears from the traditions recorded in Vedic literature and the accounts found in the *Mbh*. They utilised the saga of the Bharatas as

149. *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 225-240.

150. *BDCRI*, V, pp. 201-219.

151. *JUPHS*, XVI: Lucknow, 1945.

152. *ABORI*, XXIV, pp. 67-82.

the vehicle of instructing the people, and raised the fluid text of the *Bhārata* to the rank of the fifth Veda by adding episodes, incorporating legends and introducing the Vaiṣṇava and Dharmāniti elements in the epic. P. C. Divanji ascribes the authorship of the *Bhārata* epic to Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, and assigns the epic and the *Bhagavadgītā* to 1500-1100 B.C.¹⁵³ Kurtakoti has written about the great influence the *Mbh* has been exerting over the people of India.¹⁵⁴ According to A. K. Coomaraswamy it is difficult to understand how any one can read the *Mbh* without recognising in it a somewhat humanised version of the Vedic conflict of Devas and Asuras.¹⁵⁵

Winternitz refers to the ascetic poetry in the *Mbh* in "*Some Problems of Indian Literature*".¹⁵⁶ The ascetic poetry is found in the didactic sections of the *Mbh*, and reference has been made to the Vidūrahitavākya, Dharmavyādhakathā, Mokṣadharma, Anugītā, etc., which have their seeds not in the Vedic or Brahmanical literature, but in non-Vedic popular literature. In "*Ancient Indian Ballad Poetry*",¹⁵⁷ the same scholar shows that out of a cycle of ballads on the great war between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, some great poet shaped the great epic, *Mahābhārata*, which was originally only a heroic poem; similarly, the *Rāmāyaṇa* grew out of the ancient ballad of Rāma and Rāvaṇa. The *Bhagavadgītā*, Nalopākhyāna, Sāvitrīyupākhyāna, etc., from the *Mbh* have been stated to have become part of the world literature.¹⁵⁸ The *Mahābhārata*¹⁵⁹ by Winter-

153. "Authorship and Date of the Bhārata Epic and the *Bhg*", *JGJRI*, IV, pp. 113-124.

154. *ABORI*, XIX, pp. 1-9. 155. *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 211-212.

156. Calcutta, 1925, pp. 21-40; "Ascetic Literature in Ancient India."

157. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 41-58.

158. "Indian Literature and World Literature", *op. cit.*, pp. 59-81.

159. *VBQ*, Jan. 1924, pp. 343-359.

nitz takes a general survey of the epic, wherein he has referred to the old and later portions of the *Mbh* and stressed the need of a critical edition of the *Mbh* as the basis for higher criticism. G. Czerny deals with the interpretation and development of metempsychosis in the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mbh*,¹⁶⁰ where he treats *Ṛta*, *Kāla*, etc. S. M. Katre states that the expression *Dharmopaniṣad* in the Critical Edition of the *Mbh* points to the application of secret knowledge (*upaniṣad*) for the performance of duties in time of difficulty (*āpad-dharma*).¹⁶¹ In one of his earliest papers, Gode has exhaustively dealt with the art, style and versification of the *Mbh*.^{161a} Similes in the *Mbh* form the subject of articles by S. N. Gajendragadkar.¹⁶² C. R. Sankaran and K. Rama Varma Raja discuss the sources of *Villiputtūrār-Bhāratam*, a Tamil epitome of the Epic made in the latter part of the fourteenth century A.D.¹⁶³ "Āndhra Mahābhāratamu" has been described in detail by N. C. Narasimha Acharya.¹⁶⁴ On the basis of Bhāsa's *Madhyama Vyāyoga*, H. C. Raychaudhuri infers that there may have been an *Upākhyāna* in the *Mbh* dealing with Ghaṭotkaca's hostility to the *Brāhmaṇas*, which may have been the source of Bhāsa's theme.¹⁶⁵

In "Revelations of the First Stanza of the *Mbh*", P. R. Chidambara Iyer suggests that the fourth quarter of the stanza was *Tato jayaṁ udiraye* (and not *udirayet*), which meant "I issue the work 'Jaya'". According to him, 'Jaya' stands for the epic itself with 18 parvans, as the word signifies the number 18 which is associated with the epic in a number of ways, e.g.

160. *Die Seelenwanderung im Mahābhārata*. Tübingen, 1927.

161. *JGJRI*, I, 1.

161a. *Sanskrit Research*, I, pp. 365-386.

162. *JUB*, XIX, ii; XXI, ii. 163. *BDCRI*, V, pp. 231-266.

164. *ABORI*, XXI, pp. 97-102.

165. *CR*, Feb. 1934. It is more likely that Bhāsa himself might have invented the story.

parvans of the work, akṣauhiṇis of the belligerent forces, duration of the Bhārata war, etc. *Tataḥ* is taken to have a time value pointing to the date of the issue of the *Mbh*. The expression *Jayaṁ udīraye* is considered to be a chronogram yielding the figure "128518 in Kaṭapayādi notation, as the Kalisavana day of the occurrence, which gives 351 years, 10 months and 18 days." This is equivalent to Tṛtīyā of the dark fortnight (18th day) of the month of Māgha of the 352nd year of the Kaliyuga. This gives 2751 B.C. as the year in which the *Mbh* received its first publicity.¹⁶⁶ B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma in his "An opening verse of the *Mbh*"¹⁶⁷ invites attention to the existence of a version of the *Mbh* known to and commented on by Śrī Madhvācārya, the pioneer of *Mbh* text-criticism, in the thirteenth century, which opened with the benedictory verse

नारायणं सुरगुरुं जगदेकनाथं
मम तत्प्रियं सकललोकनमस्कृतं च ।
त्रैगुण्यवर्जितमजं विभुमाद्यमीशं
वन्दे भवन्तममरामुरसिद्वन्द्यम् ॥

P. P. S. Sastri's omission of this maṅgalaśloka from his text of the Southern Recension is criticised in the article. K. M. Jhaveri has referred to the "Ethic Discourses of Bhīṣma"¹⁶⁸ from the *Śāntiparvan* dealing with the duties of a king, ethics of war, administration, state of society, etc., giving citations from the epic. R. R. Īyengar has written about the Mokṣa-dharma philosophy in the *Mbh*, stating that the epic was mainly intended to appeal to the common people.¹⁶⁹ Writing on the "Origin and Function of the

166. ABORI, XXVII, pp. 83-101.

167. ABORI, XXVI, pp. 307-312.

168. BV, II, pp. 36-42.

169. IHQ, II, pp. 509-515.

State according to the *Rājadharmā-parvan*"¹⁷⁰ Belvalkar observes that the philosophical postulates of the *Rājadharmā-parvan* are the same as those of the *Bhṣ*; the *Rājadharmā-p.* has laid down detailed instructions for the regulation of the day-to-day conduct of the affairs of the state which display acute observation and a rare insight into human concerns, which afford interesting peeps into contemporary life. The quintessence of state-craft is given in the following half-stanza:

मालाकारोपमो राजन्मव माङ्गारिकोपमः ।

"Be like a gardener and not an incendiary". H. G. Narahari discusses the law of Karman in all its aspects and the principle of rebirth as propounded in the *Mbh* in his "Karma and Reincarnation in the *Mbh*."¹⁷¹ In an exhaustive and well-documented article N. M. Chaudhury takes note of the peculiarities of the Līṅga-worship propounded in the *Mbh* and their implications which lead to the conclusion that it is a new synthetic cult which requires to be studied in relation to its larger background.¹⁷²

"The Mahābhārata and Some Aspects of its Culture" by H. C. Raychaudhury speaks about the origin and antiquity of the epic, vicissitudes of the Aryan civilisation, kingship, theology, etc.¹⁷³ P. P. S. Sastri reviews the leading characters in the epic stating what each character stands for; the *Mbh* age has been described as the golden age.¹⁷⁴ Moral ideas in epics in respect of property form the subject of U. C. Bhat-tacharjee's paper.¹⁷⁵ S. N. Bose, in his ethnic study of the Pāṇḍavas, has indicated that they were related to

170. *ABORI*, XXIX, pp. 293-301.

171. *ABORI*, XXVII, pp. 102-113.

172. "Līṅga Worship in the *Mbh*", *IHQ*, XXIV, pp. 269-292.

173. *Cult. Her.*, I, pp. 98-107.

174. "The *Mbh* Age", *Cult. Her.*, I, pp. 108-117.

175. *MR*, Oct. 1933, pp. 399-402.

the Scythians.¹⁷⁶ K. G. Goswami shows that the institution of marriage is known to have prevailed in India from the earliest times and that the *Mbh* legend about Uddālaka Śvetaketu ordaining the institution has no evidentiary value.¹⁷⁷ In "Ekānamśā and Subhadrā", J. C. Ghosh points out that Ekānamśā mentioned in the *Mbh* as a daughter of Aṅgīrasa becomes in the *Harivaṃśa*, Yogakanyā, the daughter of Yaśodā; this Ekānamśā was later on turned into Subhadrā.¹⁷⁸ In his "Politics and Political Ideas of the *Mahābhārata*",¹⁷⁹ N. C. Banerji deals with the general political condition of India, constitution of various states and the general state of Indian politics in those days as seen from the *Mbh*. Chamupati's "Sāmrajya of Yudhiṣṭhira"¹⁸⁰ refers to the various kinds of states in ancient India. K. Bibhutibhusan Datta seeks to trace the prevalence of the system of decimal notation during the time of the *Mbh* (sixth century B.C.) and even earlier.¹⁸¹

Lachhmi Dhar shows the solar character of the Pāṇḍava heroes of the *Mbh*, the Kauravas being princes of darkness. Draupadī's wedding has been regarded as the epic version of the Vedic solar myth of Uṣas' marriage with the Sun. The great war is the slaying of the dragon of darkness and the triumph of Uṣas.¹⁸² Following Heras, A. P. Karmarkar takes the Matsyāvatāra to be a direct borrowing of the proto-Indian cult of Āṇ, and shows that the legend of the fish underwent three different stages,

176. *MR*, Dec. 1934, pp. 654-657.

177. *CR*, Aug. 1939.

178. *JASB*, L, Vol. I, No. 3.

179. *IHQ*, I, pp. 94-99; 323-330; 489-500.

180. *IHQ*, VII, pp. 523-530.

181. *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* (Bengali), Vol. 41, No. 1.

182. "Myth of the Five Husband of Draupadī" Woolner Comm. Vol., pp. 311-316.

viz. the *Śat. Brā.*, the *Mbh* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.¹⁸³ He has also taken Sukthankar's "Bhṛguś and the Bhā-rata" to apply to his Dravidian theory. In another article entitled "Vrātyas in Ancient India",¹⁸⁴ A. P. Karmarkar adduces evidence from the *Mbh* and the *Purāṇas* to show that the Vrātya cult mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* is non-Aryan. It is further shown that the cult developed among the indigenous people of India, and the Aryans started a parallel institution of Cāturvarṇya, and later accepted Vrātyas into their fold after converting them by the rite Vrātyastoma. P. C. Sengupta identifies the "Dānavas in the *Mbh*" with the builders of Mohenjodaro and Harappa.¹⁸⁵

The Kṛṣṇa problem has attracted the attention of a number of scholars. Tadpatrikar deals with the episodes from the life of Kṛṣṇa as described in the epic and in the different Purāṇic works.¹⁸⁶ S. L. Katre in "Kṛṣṇa and the Mahābhārata War" gives a detailed account from the *Mbh* of the part played by Kṛṣṇa in the *Mbh* war as well as his pre-war activities.¹⁸⁷ From a study in the Jarāsandha episode in the *Mbh* and the *Purāṇas*, S. L. Katre concludes that while the *Mbh* presents Kṛṣṇa in essentially human colours, the *Purāṇas* present him in pure divine colours; defeat, failure and humiliation have been transferred from Kṛṣṇa to Jarāsandha in the Purāṇic accounts.¹⁸⁸

Walter Ruben has made an exhaustive study of the Kṛṣṇa problem from the texts of the different Purāṇas.

183. *Festschrift Kane*, pp. 253-257.

184. *JUB*, XI, July 1942.

185. *JASL*, XVII, iii.

186. *Kṛṣṇa Problem*. Poona, 1928 (= *ABORI*, X, pp. 269-344).

187. *AUS*, VIII, pp. 193-222.

188. *IHQ*, VIII, pp. 500-508; IX, pp. 854-865.

In "On the Original Text of the Kṛṣṇa epic",¹⁸⁹ he reconstructs the 'archetype' of Kṛṣṇa's Kāliya adventure which contains only 33 stanzas as against the *Brahma* (56), *Viṣṇu* (80), *Harivaṁśa* (109), *Bhāgavata* (68), *Brahmavaivarta* (108), *Padma* (6), and *Agni* (1). Another article by Ruben aims at showing that the original supplement (*Khila*) to the *Mbh* was much shorter than the *Khila Harivaṁśa* now current.¹⁹⁰ In the "Puranic line of heroes"¹⁹¹ Ruben seeks to prove that the *Harivaṁśa* is a genuine supplement of the *Mahābhārata*; therefore the *Harivaṁśa* is the oldest Purāṇa; and many Purāṇas have borrowed from the *Harivaṁśa*. Ruben's *Kṛṣṇa*,^{191a} as he himself says, is a study, not of the religion of Kṛṣṇaism but of the epic legend of the career of Kṛṣṇa himself. Kirfel¹⁹² compares the different stories of the childhood of Kṛṣṇa from the *Bhāgavata*, *Brahma*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Harivaṁśa*, *Padma* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* and gives a comparative text. Dikshitar¹⁹³ shows that Kṛṣṇa (along with Rādhā) had already attained popularity in the Tamil country in the early centuries of the Christian era and was worshipped as a very ancient god. Nanimadhab Chaudhuri supports the view that Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa was a deity of Ābhīra origin and rejects the theory of Christian borrowings in the concept of Kṛṣṇa on the ground of the fundamental difference between the cult of Bāla-Gopāla and the conception of child Jesus, there being no room for the former in the cult while the latter is essentially an exaltation of the mother. The Purāṇic story of Kṛṣṇa's opposition to Indra-festival and his advocacy

189. *Festschrift Thomas*, pp. 188-203.

190. *JAOS*, 61, pp. 115-127.

191. *JRAS*, 1941, pp. 247-256.

191a. Wien: Ankara, 1941.

192. *Festschrift Jacobi*, pp. 298-316.

193. *IC*, IV, pp. 267-271.

of the primitive type of nature-worship and animal-worship have been regarded as evidence of the tribal nature of the religion preached by him. It is suggested that Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa was a tribal hero of the nomadic Gopas, being later on identified with the later epic hero Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.¹⁹⁴ In "Vedic and Epic Kṛṣṇa" S. K. De disputes the identity of the Vedic Kṛṣṇa (Kṛṣṇa Āṅgīrasa, a Vedic seer or teacher) with the epic Kṛṣṇa and states that it is not supported by Purāṇic tradition.¹⁹⁵ Pusalker's "Historicity of Kṛṣṇa" appears as a chapter in the present volume, with additions and emendations.¹⁹⁶

Jarl Charpentier's "Paraśu-Rāma" gives the main outlines of his legend from the epics and draws some conclusions therefrom.¹⁹⁷ In the "Paraśu-Rāma legend and its significance",¹⁹⁸ P. Anujan Achan shows that the Āraṇyaka legend may be assigned to the close of the second century A.D. and the other versions are later; that versions of the Paraśurāma legend in the different parts of the *Mbh* differ considerably, the only common factors being the extermination of the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times and the gift to Brāhmanas. The legend indicates the ascendancy of the Brāhmanas. Paraśurāma was originally a devotee of Śiva, but later was described as belonging to the Vaiṣṇava cult, and is now worshipped as the sixth avatāra of Viṣṇu. Munshi has discussed the historical value of the Paraśurāma tradition,¹⁹⁹ where he has shown four stages of the growth of a historical tradition. He has established the historicity of Paraśurāma and localised him in the West

194. "Indian Cowherd God". *JBORS*, Dec. 1942.

195. *IHQ*, XVIII, pp. 297-301.

196. *Vide supra*, Ch. V. Originally published in *Glory that was Gāṛjaradeśa*, I, pp. 111-127.

197. *Kuṇḍavāṇī* Comm. Vol., pp. 9-16.

198. Separate paper published by Cochin Archaeological Deptt.

199. *NIA*, VI, No. 8.

Coast of India down to Malabar Coast. Paraśurāma is chronologically shown to be near the battle of ten kings. It is concluded that the legends of Paraśurāma represent the first phase of Aryan advance up to the Narmadā on the one hand and the boundaries of Magadha on the other. Pusalker has considered the Paraśurāma problem with special reference to Konkan on the basis of the *Mbh*, *Purāṇas*, *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa* and *Vādeśvarodaya-Kāvya*.²⁰⁰ In "the Paraśurāma myth" Iravati Karve gives the popular version of the Konkan myth about Paraśurāma, which is the last episode in his life, and states that it belongs to that class of myths which try to explain certain geographical and social peculiarities. The factors that emerge from the myth are stated to be: (i) Konkan was a gift of the sea; (ii) shipwreck and creation of fourteen Brāhmaṇas; and (iii) curse subsequent to the faithlessness of the Brāhmaṇas. Then the Paraśurāma story is reconstructed from the *Purāṇas*, the *Mbh*, and the Vedic texts, and the *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa* account about Citpāvanas is considered. Finally are given the more southern versions of the Paraśurāma myth found in the *Purāṇas* and popular beliefs.²⁰¹ I. C. Chakko takes up some geological facts connected with Kerala and points out possible relations between them and the geographical facts contained in the Paraśurāma legend regarding Kerala in "the Scientific Basis of the Tradition that Paraśurāma raised Kerala from the Sea". Giving a general idea of the geological structure of Kerala, the author analyses and interprets the different versions of the Paraśurāma legend and compares it with Strabo's treatise on geography, the *Periplus* of the Erythrean Sea and other works.²⁰²

200. Gopalaswami Comm. Vol.

201. *JUB*, I, pp. 115-139.

202. *JRRJ*, XII, pp. 1-11.

J. L. Swellengrebel gives the story of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas as given in the *Koravāśrama*, a work in old Javanese, written in Purāṇic style.²⁰³ R. C. Majumdar's important article, full of much valuable material and containing a mine of information on "Indo-Javanese Literature",²⁰⁴ draws attention, among other things, to the old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, old Javanese translations of the *Ādi*, *Virāṭa*, *Udyoga*, *Bhīṣma*, *Āśrama*, *Musala*, *Prasthānika* and *Svargārohaṇa*, to *Arjuna-vivāha*, *Koravāśrama* and the versions of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. Ratnachandra Agrawala also has written on the diffusion of the *Mbh* in Java.²⁰⁵

On a consideration of Vedic, epic and Purāṇic texts Kshetreshachandra Chattopadhyaya has shown that Vedic orthodoxy looked upon suicide with abhorrence, which was considered meritorious by non-Vedic ascetics. Later on, Vedic orthodoxy compromised with the common culture of the land and approved of the 'religious suicide at Prayāga'.²⁰⁶

Belvalkar explains the role of Sañjaya in "Sañjaya's Eye Divine".²⁰⁷ According to him, Sañjaya always functioned as the official reporter to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and naturally was selected as the chronicler of the war-news during the great Bhārata war. Sañjaya was in no need of *divyaṁ cakṣuḥ* for the exercise of his profession so far. In view, however, of the difficult and large scale operations expected of him during the great war, the device of the *divyaṁ cakṣuḥ* came in handy, and the author-redactor of the *Mbh* granted it to Sañjaya all the more readily as that would heighten the author's own reputation for veracity. In his address on the "Riddle of the

203. *JGIS*, III. i.

204. *IC*, I, pp. 31-50.

205. *Itihāsa* (Hindi Journal), Dec. 1951.

206. *JUPHS*, X, pp. 65-79.

207. *ABORI*, XXVII, pp. 310-331.

Curse in the *Mbh*", N. C. Kelkar states that curses preponderate mostly in the subsidiary stories, legends, anecdotes, traditions, folklore and allegories. Their analysis shows that they have their own fate, destiny and vicissitudes of fortune. The philosophical aspect of the phenomena of curses is discussed, and there is a comparative study of the *Koran* and the *Bible*.²⁰⁸ Iravati Karve has discussed in detail the kinship terms and the family organisation as found in the Critical Edition of the *Mbh*.²⁰⁹ On a consideration of the material from the *Adiparvan* comprising the names of Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods and goddesses together with a brief description of their iconographical features and their correlation with early epigraphic, numismatic and sculptural data, H. D. Sankalia concludes that (1) it points to an earlier stage of the evolution of the iconography of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya and the goddess Śrī Sarasvatī, when these were primarily two-armed and ordinarily one-faced; (2) Gaṇapati was still in the distance; (3) Viṣṇu had begun to be identified not only with Dvārakā-Kṛṣṇa but also with "Gokula-" or "Gopāla-" Kṛṣṇa.²¹⁰ V. B. Athavale discusses the "movements of the Pāṇḍavas" from place to place before they started for the Kuru war, and calculates the ages of Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas at the time of particular incidents. Yudhisṭhira's age is stated to be just 21 when he was declared Yuvarāja at Indraprastha, and Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna were his juniors by two years.²¹¹

Next, we come to the various books published on the *Mbh*. Sørensen's *Index*, though begun much earlier, was published posthumously in this period, re-

208. *ABORI*, XXV, pp. 51-62. 209. *BDCRI*, V, pp. 61-148.

210. "Iconographic Elements in the *Adi Parva*", *BDCRI*, V, pp. 149-161.

211. *ABORI*, XXIX, pp. 85-98.

vised and completed by Dines Andersen and Elof Olesen.²¹² It gives concordance and summary of the Parvans and sub-parvans as also of narratives; the index under different names has been so arranged that running narrative can be got out of the references. Its value and importance in research work has been accepted by all scholars. Another posthumous work is the Italian versified translation (*Il Mahābhārata*) of selected episodes of the *Mbh* in 5 volumes, prepared by Michele Kerbaker and brought out by Carlo Formichi and Vittore Pisani.²¹³ It is in rhymed octaves, the rhyming generally being a b a b a b c c. E. P. Rice has published an *Analysis and Index of the Mahābhārata*,²¹⁴ which gives the summary of the epic, and (i) Index of Names and (ii) Index of Subjects under 15 different heads. The Subject-Index is the most valuable part. V. Venkatachella Iyer called his *Notes of a Study of the Preliminary Chapters of the Mahābhārata*,²¹⁵ an attempt to separate genuine from spurious matter. The book is based on a comparative examination of the four recensions of the epic and Nannaya's Telugu translation. According to the author, the extent of the *Bhārata* of Vyāsa was probably not more than 8800 stanzas: *upākhyānas* did not form part of Vyāsa's work, and didactic portions were later interpolations; out-stripping of Draupadi's garments was a later invention; Śānti and Anuśāsana are stupendous forgeries; there is no reference in the *Anukramanikā* to Vanaparva and Virāṭaparva incidents; the *tadānāśam* series is an interpolation in the Vanaparva; etc. Appendix II deals with "Draupadi and her five husbands", in which have been considered five different attempts invented in the *Mbh* to justify the polyandrous marriage, while conceding that the marriage was opposed to law and custom;

212. London, 1904-1925.

213. Rome, 1933-1939.

214. London, 1934.

215. Madras, 1922.

the explanations given in the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Brahma-vaivarta* and *Devi-Bhāgavata* Purāṇas are also discussed. In *Das Mahābhārata*²¹⁶ dealing with the origin, contents and form of the *Mbh*, Oldenberg attempts to distinguish between the earlier and later stages of the epic; he brings in his pet Ākhyāna-theory and holds that prose-poetry passages are the oldest portions of the *Mbh*, which was written at first in prose and then converted into metrical tales, many of which have no prose attachment but may be supposed to have been composed after the prose epic had been converted into poetry. He thinks that the ancient epic portrayed both parties in almost equal light and shade, rejoicing merely in the actual display of strength; the moral reflections cast on the conduct of the Pāṇḍavas pertain to a more modern age. He suggests that the whole role of the man-god Kṛṣṇa was a later contribution to the original theme. N. K. Sidhanta²¹⁷ has made a comparative study of the Sanskrit heroic poems (epics) and the similar poems of European lands. He takes eleventh century B.C. as the approximate period of the Bhārata war. The four stages in the *Mbh* are stated to be (i) Court-poems of the Heroic Age itself, (ii) epic or narrative poems based on the old court-poems, (iii) old stories with moral and religious interest attached to them, praising the superiority of priesthood, and (iv) complete sinking into background of the heroic interest with didacticism looming large. The unhistorical elements in the heroic poetry have been classified under (i) the introduction of gods, (ii) folk-tale elements, including (a) supernatural beings other than gods, (b) gross exaggerations of the probable including the ascribing of supernatural powers to men, (iii) myth, (iv) creative fiction, and (v) mistakes in history. Two chapters (VII and VIII) deal with the Society in the Heroic

216. Göttingen, 1922.

217. London, 1929.

Age in India, in which are considered kinship and social classes, war and trade, women and the family, food, etc. Government in the Heroic Age (Ch. IX) treats of the nature of kingship and monarchy, *sabhā* and *samiti*, and international relations. Mythology, gods, temples, sacrifice and funeral ceremonies have been considered under Religion in the Heroic Age (Ch. X). The author agrees with Hopkins that "two types of civilisation are embodied in the poem [the *Mbh*]"'. N. V. Thadani's *Mystery of the Mahābhārata*,²¹⁸ covering five volumes and over 2000 pages, sets forth the author's pet theory that the *Mbh* is the symbolization of all the six systems of Hindu philosophy, and the story represents the conflict of the systems which meet in the region of mind. As the moon is the presiding deity of the mind, both Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas belong to the lunar race. The Kauravas are taken as representing Nyāya and the Pāṇḍavas as Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya being their common ground of the first gambling match. In the second contest the Pāṇḍavas represent Vedānta and the Kauravas Vaiśeṣika. The five Pāṇḍava brothers are different parts of one man born in Vaiśeṣika system. Yudhiṣṭhira is Buddhi, Bhīma is mind, Arjuna is Prāṇa or breath, Nakula and Sahadeva are respectively arms and legs; Kuntī is the earth, Karṇa the seed or vegetable kingdom, Draupadī the sacrifice of action, Kṛṣṇa the supreme Puruṣa, etc. It cannot be denied that the *Mbh* has a historical nucleus; and once the historical facts are ignored and symbolism and speculation allowed to come in, there is no limit to the conclusions that various authors may draw. Though one may not agree with the author's conclusions, and though some have regarded the attempt as a mere waste of valuable time and money, one cannot but admire the wonderful patience and industry of the author. P. N. Mullick

has published two books: *Mahābhārata, as it was, is, and ever shall be, A Critical Study and Mahābhārata as a History and a Drama*.²¹⁹ Lack of index is a serious desideratum in these volumes. The author holds that the *Bhārata Samhitā*, which owed its origin to the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, existed before Vālmiki and Vyāsa, and dealt with duties of men in different stages of life and following two distinct paths, of *samsāra* and *saṁnyāsa*: the original *Mbh* was not connected with the Pāṇḍavas. The second book gives a useful summary of the historical and dramatic episode of the *Mbh*. According to the author, Vyāsa originally described the evil conduct of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's sons, goodness of Pāṇḍavas, wisdom of Vidura, virtue of Gāndhārī and constancy of Kuntī, ending with the divinity of Kṛṣṇa. The history thus culminates in the Rājasūya. Then the epic was remodelled with dramatic and Purāṇic admixture at the time of Janamejaya and Śatānīka. Bhīṣma, Droṇa, etc., are later additions. A very useful summary of the epic appears in these volumes. In one section of *Indo-Aryan Literature and Culture Origins*, N. N. Ghose²²⁰ culls the material which formed the original Draupadī saga, and was subsequently added to and even altered by the Brahmin redactors; the Satyavatī-Bhīṣma colloquy and the Niyoga is a Brahmanical elaboration as also are Paṇḍu's sons, Droṇa and Aśvatthāman, etc; whatever part implies extravagant glorification of the Brahmin involving the humiliation of some other class, that is to be surely taken as a Brahmanic interpolation. *Bhārata-varṣiya Prācīna Caritra Kośa* (Dictionary of Biography in Ancient India, in Marathi) by S. V. Chitrav gives the biography of characters figuring in Vedic, post-Vedic, epic and Purāṇic, literature,

219. Respectively Calcutta 1934 and Calcutta 1939.

220. Calcutta, 1934; Section XIV.

with suitable references.²²¹ It is the only book of its kind. Nundo Lal Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of India* supplies, *inter alia*, epic and Purāṇic references to various place-names, and identifies them.²²² His *Rasātala or the Underworld* refers, in addition, to western geographers.²²³ Kirfel in his *Die Kosmographie der Inder*²²⁴ makes a detailed investigation of the data offered not only by the *Saṁhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Upa-niṣads* and *Vedāṅgas*, nor again by the *Mbh*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and other different *Purāṇas* and *Upapurāṇas*, but also by several Jain and Buddhist canonical and non-canonical works. The same problem, as narrowed down to the geographical description of India proper, was subsequently treated by Kirfel in a short monograph, *Bhāratavarṣa*.²²⁵ Epic and Purāṇic accounts have been divided into three groups; shorter, longer, and *Mbh* and *Padma*. Texts in the longer group, however, are much earlier than the shorter group. Haraprasada Sastri in his preface to the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss at the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V,²²⁶ takes an exhaustive critical survey of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mbh* and the *Purāṇas*. He propounds several theories, and his observations will amply repay perusal. Regarding the *Mbh*, he gives a new meaning to *śloka*, taking it to convey a unit of 32 letters; and considers in detail the *Parvasaṅgrahaparvan*, the beginnings of the *Mbh*, the criteria for finding out interpolations and additions, language and philosophy, etc. With regard to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, he deals with the form of the work, its recensions, language, author, extent, editions, etc. Several problems such as the date of the *Purāṇas*, their number, authorship, criteria for ascertaining age, *māhātmyas*, etc. are considered in connection with the *Mahāpurāṇas*. Gonda's trans-

221. Poona, 1932.

222. Calcutta, 1925.

223. Stuttgart, 1931.

224. London, 1927.

225. Bonn, 1920.

226. Calcutta, 1928.

literated version of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* in Javanese deserves special mention.²²⁷ In his *Mbh: An Ethnological Study*,²²⁸ G. J. Held begins with a history of the critical study of the *Mbh*, stating the problems and points for further study. According to the author, the relationship terminology in the epic is largely of a classificatory nature; the terms expressive of relationship do not denote blood relationship but clan connection. The relation between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas was a phratry-relation. Both groups together constituted a complete unity, seemingly divided but forming in effect a totality, the oneness of the tribes. Both were parties of *Vrātyas*. In the society of the Pāṇḍavas we have the permanent form of the ritual of initiation; and in that of the Kauravas the permanent form of the systematised potlach feasts. C. Rajagopalachari's *Mahābhārata*²²⁹ covers the whole of the Great Epic in 107 stories told with an artistry which preserves the charm of the original and enriches them with the author's characteristic shrewd observations, pointing the moral or calling attention to modern parallels. While each story is treated as if it were an independent unit, the author has succeeded in investing his narrative as a whole with a kind of continuity and connectedness. Sukthankar's articles on the *Mbh* including the monumental *Prolegomena* and prefaces to the Critical Edition have been collected together under *Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata*, which appeared as Vol. I of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition edited by P. K. Gode.²³⁰

Two text-editions of the *Mbh* were published during this period. The Chitrashala Edition brings out the vulgate text with Nilakanṭha's comment-

227. Bandounq, 1936.

228. London: Amsterdam, 1935.

229. New Delhi, 1950; Book University Series, Bombay, 1952.

230. Bombay, 1944.

ary;²³¹ it is simply a copy of an older edition "faithfully copying, in every detail, all the old mistakes and adding some of its own making, in the bargain". Its only merit lies in its cheapness, which makes it easily accessible to the general public. Sufficient reference has already been made to Sastri's *Mahābhārata*.²³² Our complaint is that it is not what it purports to be, i.e., a critical edition of the S. recension. The work is carelessly done and the collations are inadequate. It is, however, valuable as it gives a continuous Southern text printed neatly in a handy volume for ready reference.

2. *The Bhagavadgītā*

The *Bhagavadgītā* has been accepted by the Hindus as the integral part of the *Mbh*, and some European scholars also endorse the view. The most important and significant events in connection with the *Bhg* studies during the last thirty-seven years have been, in a chronological order, the publication of the Kashmirian recension of the *Bhg*, of the "original" *Gītā* and the Critical Edition of the *Bhg*. It is indeed curious how the *Bhg* presents such a relatively fixed consistent text without any noteworthy variation for the last 1200 years. The current text contains 700 stanzas, there being two other texts with 714 and 745 stanzas. The additional stanzas effect no material addition; nor do they create any difference in the teaching or add any new topic or argument.

F. Otto Schrader first brought to light the Kashmirian recension of the *Bhg*,²³³ which he maintains

231. Poona, 1929-1936.

232. Madras, 1931-1936. Reference may also be made to a number of translations of the *Mbh* in regional languages that appeared during this period; there were translations in Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, etc.

233. Stuttgart, 1930.

to be intrinsically superior to the Śāṅkara text, with its two commentaries dating from the tenth century. The Kashmirian recension differs from the vulgate text of the *Bhg* not only in giving "fourteen complete and four half stanzas" not found in the current version, but also in presenting over 250 variant readings. Schrader also contributed papers on the subject, showing that the India Office MS of the *Mbh*, though from Kashmir, no doubt, contained the vulgate text of the *Bhg*, but was not free from traces of Kashmirian recension; that Rāmakaṇṭha and Abhinavagupta were ignorant of the vulgate text; and that Śāṅkara's works and the vulgate *Bhg* came to Kashmir after the eleventh century during the reign of the Kashmirian king Harṣa.²³⁴ He also points to a *Bhg* "riddle" which requires the assumption of the existence of a form of the *Bhg*, wherein Arjuna spoke only 57 (instead of 84) stanzas, and hence 27 of the present Arjuna stanzas are proposed to be excluded as later additions.²³⁵

Since long, Belvalkar has made the *Bhg* study his own, and has to his credit many valuable contributions on the subject. The undertaking of the critical edition of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* has given him a thorough command of the MS material of the *Bhg*, so that he can authoritatively pronounce about the text problems. Belvalkar has, during the period under review, expressed his views exhaustively both in connection with the Kashmirian recension of the *Bhg* and the original *Gītā*. He proposes to solve Schrader's riddle by including the *Gītāsāra* stanzas in the *Bhg* proper, treating *Gītāsāra* as the *khila* of the *Bhg*, and by excluding certain stanzas from Arjuna and

234. "On the Form of the *Bhg* contained in the Kashmirian *Mbh*", *JRAS.* 1935, pp. 146-149; "Rezensionen der Bhagavad-gītā", *Fest. Winternitz*, pp. 41-50.

235. "An Implication of the *Bhg* Riddle", *NIA*, I, pp. 62-68

assigning these and some additional stanzas to Saṅkara, thus conforming to the *Gītāmāna* enumeration.²³⁶ Belvalkar has examined the Kashmirian recension of the *Bhg* in his new edition of the text²³⁷, and he states that the comparison of this recension with the Śāṅkara text shows that in a number of passages the Kashmirian reading seeks (i) to regularise the grammar, (ii) to improve the syntax, and (iii) to improve the sense. According to the accepted canons of textual criticism the grammatically irregular readings preserved in the Śāṅkara text are likely to be the authentic ones and the Kashmirian text cannot claim to be intrinsically superior. Belvalkar also points out that there is no basis for the current view that Abul Fazl's Persian translation of the *Bhg* contained 745 stanzas. According to Belvalkar it is legitimate to speak of a Kashmirian recension of the *Bhg* as it is legitimate in a smaller measure, to speak of a Rāmānujīya recension of the poem.²³⁸ The Kashmirian recension was not current prior to the eighth century A.D. and not more authentic "except for about a dozen minor variants. The form of the *Bhg* as preserved in the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkarācārya is still the earliest and the most authentic form of the Poem that we can reach on the basis of the available manuscript evidence." In a paper entitled "The Rāmānujīya text of the Bhagavad-gītā,"²³⁹ Belvalkar has compared the Śāṅkara Gītā-pāṭha with that followed by Rāmānuja on the evidence of the *Tātparyacandrikā*. He mentions thirty cases of differences of reading, of which only four being important are commented on by him. The only place where Belvalkar thinks Rāmānuja's reading to be

236. "Bhg riddle unriddled", *ABORI*, XIX, pp. 335-348.

237. *Bhagavadgītā* with the comm. of Anandavardhana. Poona, 1941; cf. also "The So-called Kashmir Recension of the *Bhg*", *NIA*, II, pp. 211-251.

238. *Bhagavadgītā*, Intr.

239. *ASVOI*, I, pp. 7-15.

definitely superior and authenticated by majority of reliable MSS is III. 2, where Rāmānuja reads vyāmisreṇa-eva for vyāmisreṇa-iva of Śaṅkara.

While dealing with the Critical Edition of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* earlier, no reference was made to the Critical Edition of the *Bhg.*²⁴⁰ In addition to the critical apparatus of the *Bhīṣmaparvan*, the *Bhg* utilises six Śāradā MSS, one each of Kashmir and Nepāl, twelve commentaries and three northern MSS of Gītāsāra. In the case of the *Bhg.*, the Editor had to give up the accepted principle of giving preference to variants of Śāradā and Kashmir versions, which have been treated here as late and secondary. Śaṅkarācārya's testimony for the text of the *Bhg* is earlier than that of any other MS or commentator. Except the first 57 stanzas, he offers a word for word explanation for the whole *Bhg*, which enables us to determine exactly what text he had before him. Practically all versions except ŚK and a few composite MSS of the D group have, in the main, accepted the Śaṅkara text of the *Bhg*. The constituted text of the *Bhg* has turned out to be very similar to that commented on by Śaṅkara, which disposes of Schrader's claim that the Kashmir recension of the *Bhg* is superior to the commonly accepted one. Belvalkar has further shown that all the important variants, on the basis of which Schrader tries to establish the superiority of the Kashmir recension, can be explained away.

The point whether the *Bhg* formed an integral part of the *Mbh* or was a later addition to it remains still an open question. For, as admitted by Belvalkar, the very old MSS K₁ and Da₁ omit entirely the *Bhg* and even its existence was not recognised by Deva-

240. Reprint, Poona, 1945; *Bhīṣmaparvan* (Critical Edition), Poona, 1945-47.

bodha, though it is likely that Devabodha's commentary on the *Gītā* portion has not so far come to light.

*Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā*²⁴¹ by Swami Vireswarananda contains the text of the *Bhg* with the gloss of Śrīdhara and the translation of the *Bhg* and Śrīdhara's gloss, which latter was not hitherto available to the English reader.

Coming to the other text-editions of the *Bhg* published during the period under review, we may mention that besides Schrader's edition, three other editions of the Kashmirian version have been published. Tadpatrikar brought out, in 1934, *Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā* with numerous variants from old Kashmirian MSS, an exhaustive introduction and critical notes, which has been published in the Pratinidhi Series (No. 1), under the patronage of the Raja Saheb of Aundh. The Anandasrama published, in 1939, *Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā* with the commentary of Rājānaka Rāmakavi called Sarvatobhadra, also edited by Tadpatrikar. Four MSS from the B. O. R. I. were utilised for this edition, and it is found that Rāmakavi comments on a text of the *Bhg* which follows Kashmirian reading. The same text as edited by T. R. Chintamani was published by the University of Madras in 1941. This is based on five MSS, four from the B. O. R. I., and one from the India Office, three being in Nāgarī and two in Śaradā. There is also a scholarly introduction pointing out textual differences from the vulgate text noticed in the Kashmirian recension after comparing the texts adopted by different Kashmirian commentators. Schrader's views have been effectively refuted by appropriate extracts showing that Rāmakaṇṭha and Abhinavagupta knew the vulgate text as well as the *Gītā-Bhāṣya* by Śaṅkara. Chintamani regards

241. Madras, 1949.

Belvalkar's falling in line with the Otto-Garbe-Schrader suggestion about the interpolations in the *Bhg* as "unhappy" and shows that the so-called interpolated verses have been accepted as genuine by Sankara, Rāmakaṇṭha and others.²⁴²

Jivarama Kalidas Sastri of Gondal published in 1935 the text of the *Bhg* purporting to be based on a MS dated Śaṁvat 1235 (=1179 A.D.), containing 21 additional stanzas and 250 variants. The Śuddhadharma Office, Madras, published in 1935, the text of the *Bhg*, having 745 stanzas divided into 26 chapters, with *pāda* index. English translation of the text has been published by T. M. Janardanam, and the editor believes that the *Bhg* contains an exposition of 24 Dharmas such as Nārāyaṇadharmā, Avatāradharma, etc.; thus Chs. 2-25 deal with 24 Dharmas in 4 *ṣaṭkas*. The Śuddhadharma text has been condemned by Schrader and others as "an artificial fabrication". The first Adhyāya of the *Gītā* with the commentary was published in 1924 and the second Adhyāya with the commentary appeared in 1953. The English introduction by Janardana discusses the text-problem, conveys the message of the *Gītā*, and gives the summary of the Sanskrit Commentary on the second Adhyāya. The introduction makes certain astounding revelations, hitherto unknown to any one outside the initiates of the Śuddha Dharma Maṇḍala, regarding the compilation of the *Mbh*. It is stated that Yoga Vyāsa, known as Uśanākavi, was the author of twenty-four Bhārata sūtras, which served as the background for the Bhārata-saṁhitā of 24000 ślokaś by Bhārgava Vyāsa; the *Gītā* version in this Saṁhitā had only 144 ślokaś in six chapters; it was Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa who prepared his *Mahā Bhārata* of a lakh of ślokaś; the Brāhmaṇaś of Jambukhaṇḍa, overcome by malice

242. *Bhagavadgītā*, Ed. by Chintamani, intr.

and prejudice, invaded the cave-āśrama of Vyāsa, and seizing the MSS, threw them out to the winds; the thrown-out MS-copies were collected by Vaiśampāyana, the sage's disciple, who restored them to order; it is this version that went into preservation in the archives of the Suddha Dharma Maṇḍala as a precaution against future acts of vandalism; the Brāhmaṇas of Jambukhaṇḍa, however, realised their folly after the Bhārata war and collected whatever versions they could get out of the previously thrown out MSS; after giving some shape to it they broadcast it as the *Mbh*; this accounts for the different versions we come across these days, but the *real* work is hidden with the Suddha Dharma Maṇḍala, which has released only the *Bhagavadgītā* of 745 ślokaś to the general public by permission of the chiefs of the Maṇḍala!

The text of the *Bhg* with *Bhagavadgītārthaprakāśikā* of Śrī Upaniṣadbrahma was published from Adyar in 1941, edited by the Pundits of the Adyar Library. There is no reference to the MSS material utilised for the text. In his introduction, Kunhan Raja discusses the problem of the extent and nature of the text of the *Gītā*, which according to him is "an indivisible whole, a unit." Jivarama Kalidasa Sastri has recently published yet another text of the *Bhg* answering the *Gītāmāna* description of 745 stanzas. He describes the MS to be palm-leaf dating from 1665 Śaṁvat. The introduction deals exhaustively with the text-problem of the *Bhg*. Belvalkar very much doubts the genuineness of this "Bhojapatra *Gītā*", which he believes to have been manufactured quite recently to conform to the *Gītāmāna* description in every particular.²⁴³ Belvalkar has published an "authorised version" of the *Bhg*, with complete *pāda* index, in which he gives only the Śāṅkara text.²⁴⁴ He has

243. Sahyādri (Marathi monthly), 1942; also JGJRI, I, pp. 21-31.

244. Poona, 1941.

brought out another edition of the *Bhg* (already referred to) with the *Jñānakarmasamuccayaṭīkā* of Ānandavardhana, with an introduction and two appendices. The introduction deals with the problem of the Kashmirian recension, to which we have already referred. Ānandavardhana belongs to 1080 A.D. Schrader's views have been refuted, and Belvalkar justifies his "mathematical operation" to which Chintamani objected. Appendix I gives a list of the names of works and authors cited by Ānandavardhana in his commentary, and Appendix II gives the variants in the two recensions in parallel columns.

Among translations of the *Bhg*, reference may be made to those by Edgerton and Hill. "Song of the Blessed One" by Edgerton contains a clear and able analysis of the contents of the *Bhg*.²⁴⁵ According to Edgerton, "There is absolutely no documentary evidence that any other form of the *Gītā* than that we have was ever known in India". Hill's translation contains the vulgate text, an index, an argument and a commentary.²⁴⁶ The introduction deals with the cult of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, composition and age of the *Bhg* (second century B.C. according to Hill), and the doctrine of the *Bhg*. There are bibliographical notes, Sanskrit Index and Subject Index to the *Bhg*.

Belvalkar has published an English translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*,²⁴⁷ with an Introduction and an Index of proper names. Entitled "Critical Exposition of the Argument" the Introduction deals, among other things, with the following:—the problem mooted; genesis of Ariuṇa's dolour; truer explanations of *Sāṃkhya* *Buddhiḥ* and *Yoge* *Buddhiḥ*; exposition of the "Yoga" in the *Bhg*; inner significance and basic foundation of the "Yajñacakrapravartana"; the problem of

245. Chicago, 1925.

246. Oxford, 1928.

247. Poona, 1943.

human freedom and of evil; nature of God's Māyā; *Bhg* cosmology; macrocosm and microcosm; "triune-unities" of the *Bhg*; besides there are Exegetic Riddles Nos. 1 to 5. He has tried to indicate in his Exposition that "the Triune-unity of Karman, Jñāna and Bhakti as set forth by the Poem (i.e. the *Bhg*) demanded on the part of its Author a good deal of special pleading with a view to constitute an alliance between an orthodox Mimāṃsist with his old-world Yajña as the be-all and end-all of existence, the post-Upaniṣad Sāṃkhya with its dominating passion for Samnyāsa, pre-Pātanjala Yoga with its mystic discipline of self-culture tempered by a Deistic Cosmology and an Intellectualistic Ethics, and the various Bhakti Cults of the day with their special notions of the Deity and special modes and methods of its worship." The *Bhg* being pre-Buddhistic according to Belvalkar, the reason for its "Philosophical Compromise" is found in the danger from radical "Heretics" to everything sacred. The *Bhg* is "an effort on a great scale put forth by the older Śrauta religion, with its institutions of Yajña and Varṇāśrama, to hold its own and to stem the gathering tide of heretic and agnostic speculations."

The Bhagavadgītā by S. Radhakrishnan contains the text in Roman script, an introductory essay, English translation and notes. According to the learned author "the *Bhg* is a valuable aid for the understanding of the supreme ends of life." The importance and value of the Introductory Essay will be apparent from a bare mention of the topics dealt with: (1) Importance of the work, (2) Date and text, (3) Chief commentators, (4) Ultimate Reality, (5) Kṛṣṇa, the teacher, (6) The Status of the World and the Concept of Māyā, (7) The Individual Self, (8) Yoga-śāstra, (9) Jñāna or Saving Wisdom, (10) The Way of Knowledge: Jñānamārga, (11) The Way of Devotion: Bhakti-mārga, (12)

The Way of Action: Karma-mārga, and (13) The Goal.²⁴⁸

Among other translations of the *Bhagavadgītā*, may be included the metrical translation by A. W. Ryder,²⁴⁹ "*Song of the Lord*" with introduction and notes by E. J. Thomas,²⁵⁰ "*The Gospel of the Lord Śrīkrṣṇa*"²⁵¹ by Purohit Swami, and "*The Message of the Gītā as interpreted by Śrī Aurobindo*"²⁵² by Anil Baran Roy, which besides the text and translation, gives copious notes, appendices, glossary and index. *Bhagavadgītā, the Song of God* is an English translation in prose and verse, which is not literal but interpretative, by Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood with an introduction by Aldous Huxley. All classical commentators have been taken into account.²⁵³ Bengali Baba has brought out the text and English translation of the *Bhg* with an introduction, under the sub-title *the Solution of Life Problems*.²⁵⁴ There is a chart of terminology of the *Yogasūtra* showing the significance of the terms and establishing their identity with those of the Sāṅkhya, *Brahmasūtra*, *Bhg* and the *Nyāyavaiśeṣika*.

In his "*Bhagavadgītā—A Fresh Study*",²⁵⁵ D. D. Vadekar makes a plea for the historical study and interpretation of the *Gītā*. He criticises both Śaṅkara and Tilak. According to the author, the *Gītā* is a synthesis of Rāmānuja's Qualified Monism and Tilak's Activism. In continuation of his particular theories about Vedic gods, etc., V. G. Rele²⁵⁶ expounds the *Gītā* on the basis of psycho-philosophy and psycho-analysis. Aurobindo Ghose's "*Essays on the Gītā*"²⁵⁷

248. London, 1948.

250. London, 1931.

252. Bombay, 1938.

254. Kapurthala, 1944.

256. *Bhagavadgītā*, Bombay, 1930.

257. Calcutta. First Series, 1st Ed., 1922; 2nd Ed., 1926; 3rd Ed., 1937; Second Series, 1st Ed., 1928; 2nd Ed., 1942.

249. Chicago, 1930.

251. London, 1935.

253. Madras, 1945.

255. Poona, 1928.

present a new approach to the *Gītā*; the *Gītā* is interpreted not as a philosophical doctrine but as a practical guide to life, to the highest spiritual life—which is not a turning away from the world and its actualities, nor a pursuit of mere ethical or mentally motivated activities—which is rather a life here below of Actionless Action, of action held in God-consciousness. The distinguished author approaches the *Gītā* for help and light, and his aim is to distinguish its essential and living message which humanity requires for its perfection and highest spiritual welfare. The book will be of practical help on the spiritual path. Want of index is a serious desideratum in this valuable book. "*Śrīmad-Bhagavadgītā*"²⁵⁸ by Anil Baran Roy (in Bengali) is based on Aurobindo's philosophy and faithfully follows Aurobindo's thought. The introduction deals with the interpretation of classical commentators like Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, and thinkers like Rāmakṛṣṇa and Tilak, and tries to show that the new standpoint is the best as it avoids their demerits and preserves all that is best in them. *Introduction to the Study of the Bhg*²⁵⁹ by R. Vasudeva Row considers, with pertinent passages about each topic in the text and translation, the following topics: *Jagat*, *Vyavasāya*, *Upāśyavastu*, *Upāśanā*, *Upāsaka*, *Bhagavadgītāsvarūpa* and Conclusion.

Rudolf Otto published in 1934-35, three books on the *Gītā* dealing with the "Original *Gītā*."²⁶⁰ The main purpose of these books is to propound a theory of the composition of the *Gītā*, according to which, hardly any of it belongs to the primitive text, and the contents consist mainly of tracts emanating from

258. Calcutta, 1941.

259. Madras, 1946.

260. *Bhagavadgītā: Der Sang der Herhabenen* Stuttgart, 1935; *Die Urgestalt der Bhagavadgītā*. Tübingen, 1934; *Die Lehre-traktate der Bhagavadgītā*. Tübingen, 1935. English translation — *Original Bhagavadgītā — The Song of the Exalted One* — by J. E. Turner. London, 1939.

writers of different schools and foisted on to the original work. The scheme is elaborated with much ingenuity. Otto finds three distinct strata in the *Bhg*, one in the original poem consisting of 133 verses, another in the doctrinal tracts, and a third in the additions and glosses that came to be inserted later on. Belvalkar has opposed Otto's contention, and has examined it critically, publishing the text as required by Otto's theory; his conclusion is that the *Gītā* in its present form, though not a unitary poem, has been transformed into a philosophical synthesis and does not, therefore, admit of any stratification now.²⁶¹ M. N. Sircar begins his *Mysticism in Bhagavad Gītā*²⁶² by stating that contrary to the divergence between knowledge and faith felt in Europe which is now melting away, thought, knowledge and faith are not in conflict in India, mysticism has its rightful place, and science has not been divorced from it. The central teaching of the *Gītā*, like that of the Upaniṣads, is confined to the Brahman, the Being, the conception of the transcendence and immanence. The teachings of the *Gītā* have been discussed under (1) the philosophic tendencies, (2) the descent of the soul, (3) the ascent of the soul, and (4) the spiritual fulfilment. The mystic ideal of the *Gītā* is stated to be the realisation of the Divine in its immanence and transcendence, the Divine in man and nature, and the Divine beyond and above them. There is no index to the book. *Ethical Philosophy of the Gītā*²⁶³ by P. N. Srinivasachari expounds the ethical aspect of the *Bhg* in the light of Viśiṣṭādvaita by adopting Western methods of critical enquiry. The ethical standpoint of the various schools of Indian thought has been ex-

261. "Miscarriage of Attempted Stratification of the *Bhg*", *JUB*, V, pp. 63-133.

262. Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, 1929.

263. Madras.

mined in the light of western thought and a true valuation of the position of the *Gītā* has been made out. Diwan Chand's *Short Studies in Bhg*²⁶⁴ is a learned analysis and exposition of the work by a life-long student of Indian philosophy. In his *Bhg and Hindu Dharma* M. P. Chitale tries to explain the principles of Hindu religion and the essentials of religious practice and conduct as taught by the *Bhg*. The book is divided into two parts dealing respectively with the principles and practice of the Hindu religion.²⁶⁵ P. D. Gune's *Articles on Bhagavadgītā* deal with the message of the *Gītā*, the idea of personal god in the *Gītā*, the text as a protest against ritualism.²⁶⁶

Turning now to the articles dealing with textual and interpretative aspects of the *Gītā*, we find that Charpentier's "Some Remarks on the Bhagavad-gītā"²⁶⁷ consider the views of different scholars about the original shape of the *Bhg*; give three stanzas from ch. ii, which appear old and original to the author, with English translation; and place the earlier *Gītā* (ii-xi) somewhere about 200 B.C., and later (xii-xviii) after an interval of several centuries. Schrader thinks that *Bhg*. iii. 15 does not belong to the original *Gītā*, but is an interpolation.²⁶⁸ The idea of 'Yajñacakra' being older than the *Bhg*, he tries to explain it on the supposition that it is genuine. In "Some Aspects of the *Bhg*," S. K. De briefly discusses two points in relation to the *Bhg*, viz. its date, and the process of remodelling the work. As to the date, De admits the work as the earliest of all the existing works of devotional character, as it furnishes one of the earliest landmarks in the history of the Indian

264. Bombay, 1951.

265. Poona, 1953.

266. Poona, 1952. Gune's articles have been published in book form here.

267. *IA*, 1930, pp. 46-50; 77-80; 101-105; 121-126.

268. *IHQ*, V, pp. 173-181; 790-791.

doctrine of religious devotion. As to the process of the remodelling of the work, De is of opinion that the *Gītā* suffered from occasional interpretation or that it existed in different recensions; but to maintain that the work is a poor patch-work or to deny that it is a powerful synthetic expression of a particular trend of religious thought is to miss the essential significance of the poem, as well as to go directly against the testimony of Indian tradition which has always attempted, even from different points of view, a synthetic interpretation of the poem as a whole.^{268a} In "The Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Bhagavadgītā,"²⁶⁹ Raghavan investigates the question whether the author of the *Bhāgavata-P.* knew the Kashmirian recension of the *Bhg.* and concludes that he knew only the vulgate text of the *Bhg.* From the parallelisms in words and ideas culled from the *Bhg.* and the *Yogavāsishtha*, Raghavan proves that the *Yogavāsishtha* used a text of the *Bhg.* which was a mix up of the Kashmirian recension and the vulgate.²⁷⁰ According to H. G. Narahari,²⁷¹ the *Samādhilakṣaṇa* forming part of the *Sūtasamhitā* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* is indebted to the *Bhg.* for its contents, and many verses are obviously imitations of the statements contained in the *Bhg.* B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma has criticised Rajawade's article on the "Grammar of the *Gītā*" according to which the *Gītā* cannot be regarded as one of the best poems of the world.²⁷² Gode has cited quotations from the *Bhg.* in pre-Śaṅkara Jaina sources²⁷³ like the *Padmapurāṇa*, *Śāstravārtāsamuccaya* and *Lokaṭatvanirṇaya*, in the hope that they may be helpful in clarification of the problem whether there existed different recensions of the *Gītā* before Śaṅkara. Other

268a. IC, IX, pp. 31-35.

269. JOR, XII, pp. 71-72.

270. Ibid, pp. 73-82; 161-163. 271. ABORI, XXI, pp. 100-105.

272. ABORI, XI, pp. 284-299; cf. also Rajawade, "Grammar of the *Gītā*", Bhanderkar Comm. Vol., pp. 325-38.

273. ABORI, XX, pp. 188-194.

articles by Gode on the *Gītā* include "Comparisons in the *Bhg.*"^{273a} "Psychology of emotions as represented in *Bhg.*"^{273b} and "the Bhakti-sūtras of Nārada and *Bhg.*"^{273c} which is a study in parallelism of thought and expression. In "*Bhg* and Jain Literature", Raghavan cites examples of the influence of the *Gītā* on Jain literature, in the writings of Amara-candra, Umāsvāti, Śubhacandra, Kundakunda and Yogindu.^{273d}

Articles by Schrader and B. N. K. Sarma on ancient *Gītā* commentaries²⁷⁴ refer to one Bhāskara mentioned by Abhinavagupta, whom Sarma equates with a Vedāntin Bhāskara, a contemporary of Śaṅkara, and Schrader with Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa, author of *Śaivasūtravārttika*, a Kashmirian Śaivite contemporary of Abhinavagupta.

In his "*Sādhana of the Bhagavadgītā*",²⁷⁵ S. K. Maitra gives a compendious analysis of the *Bhg* viewed as a practical scripture illuminating the paths of spiritual realization. Matilal Das deals with the psychological and ethical teachings of the *Gītā*.²⁷⁶ D. S. Sarma points out, by quotations and comparisons, resemblances in ideas and expression between Upaniṣadic verses and the *Bhg*; and this is already recorded in *sarvopaniṣado gāvo* indicating *Upaniṣads* as "one of the sources of the *Bhg*".²⁷⁷ A. N. Ray shows that Kṛṣṇa was the great religious teacher who brought about a Sāṃkhya-Yoga-Vedānta synthesis, the harmonising of non-Brahmanical and Brahmanical philosophies.²⁷⁸

273a. ABORI, II, pp. 135-142.

273b. QJMS, 1924.

273c. ABORI, IV, pp. 63-95.

273d. BV, X, pp. 80-87.

274. IHQ, IX, pp. 663-677; X, pp. 348-357; XI, pp. 188-196.

275. VK, XXVII, pp. 164-172; 220-229.

276. CR, 82, pp. 246 ff.

277. JOR, III, 1.

278. "Śrīkrṣṇa and the Source of the *Bhagavadgītā*". IHQ, IX, pp. 188-196.

T. M. P. Mahadevan has tried to interpret the teaching of the *Gītā* consistently with the doctrine of non-violence in his "Is *Gītā* a Gospel of War?"²⁷⁹ The same author in his *Two-fold Path in the Gītā*²⁸⁰ gives an elucidation of the main theme of Śaṅkara's view-point that the *Gītā* teaches two separate paths to two separate kinds of persons and does not advocate the combination of Jñāna and Karma simultaneously in one and the same person. *Musings on the Bhagavadgītā*²⁸¹ by Nehal Chand Vaish gives an exposition of the *Gītā* according to the author's own experience in life; the reader is asked to appreciate the teaching of the *Gītā* according to his own experience in life. V. G. Bhat's *The Bhagavadgītā: A Study*²⁸² deals with the *Gītā* in its relation to Hindu philosophy and religion, its position within the *Mbh.*, etc., and tries to prove that it is mainly a harmonious work. Swami Suddhananda draws attention to worklessness through work, doctrine of Karma Yoga, divine incarnation, resignation to divine will, etc., as "The Teachings of the Bhagavadgītā."²⁸³ Reference is made to the conception of God in the *Bhg* and the method of His true worship which is said to be self-surrendering in the "Commonsense Religion in the Bhagavadgītā".²⁸⁴

Munshiji's reverence and love for Śrī Kṛṣṇa and the *Bhg* are well known and he has been popularising the teachings of the *Bhg* and spreading Śrī Kṛṣṇa's message by various means. His "Experiential Approach to the *Gītā*" deals with many aspects of the message of the *Gītā*. Creative resistance, becoming, surrender to God, truth as *svadharma*, breaking the bonds, silence and solitude, are the various topics elaborately considered, well documented from the

279. *Phil. Qtrly.*, XVII, July 1941.

280. Madras, 1949.

281. Allahabad, 1931.

282. Dharwar, 1924.

283. *Cult. Her.*, I, pp. 118-125.

284. *Cult. Her.*, I, pp. 136-145.

Bhḡ and the *Yogasūtras*.²⁸⁵ *Bhagavadgītā* and *Modern Life*²⁸⁶ consists of seven lectures which Munshiiji delivered in the Gita Vidyalaya of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan during 1944-45 and 1945-46. The following are the topics discussed: (1) Place and meaning of the *Gītā*, (2) Therefore do thou resist, O! Arjuna, (3) The Unity which is Yoga, (4) Svabhāva—the Basis of Perfection, (5) Cāturvarṇya—its Ideal and Practice, (6) Yoga is Perfection in Action, and (7) Brahmacharya—Sublimation of the Sex Urge. Munshiiji rightly points out that the *Gītā*, the pre-eminent scripture, being a universal gospel, is an intensely human document, a guide for every human situation. That knowledge, action and devotion are not alternative pathways, but have to be fused into a dynamic unity has been best illustrated by the lives of Śaṅkara and Kant, Calvin and Dayānanda, and Caitanya and St. Augustine, in whom predominated respectively knowledge, action and devotion. In Marcus Aurelius, a European Janaka Videhi, were beautifully mixed all the three elements. Bacon, Napoleon and Hitler are instances of lives wasted for lack of such fusion. Ananta Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī in his Sanskrit work shows how each of the Darśanas finds its doctrines advocated by the *Gītā*.²⁸⁷ In the *Art of Life in the Bhagavadgītā*,²⁸⁸ H. V. Divatia has described in ten chapters the psychology, epistemology, cosmology, metaphysics and ethics of the *Gītā*, and discussed in the concluding chapter how far modern science confirms the teachings of the philosophy of life behind the *Gītā*.

D. S. Sarma has made an intensive study of the *Bhḡ* and its philosophy, and has striven hard to make the *Gītā* popular among the younger generation. He propounds that eternal truth postulates immeasurable

285. BV, III, pp. 1-20.

287. Bombay, 1944.

286. Bombay, 1947.

288. Bombay, 1951.

love and that truth is founded on the throne of love. Sarma's expositions in his *Lectures on the Bhagavadgītā*,²⁸⁹ which contain six lectures, an English translation and three appendices, are not only scholarly, but also lucid and simple. He has also brought out a Students' Edition of the *Bhagavadgītā*.²⁹⁰ Sri Krishna Prem in his "Yoga of Bhagavadgītā,"²⁹¹ gives a practical insight into the perfect yoga of the Gītā which, according to the author, is not an intellectual formation, but the mighty synthesis of the partial spheres of the different yogas integrating every aspect of the divine nature of all beings. P. Narasimham²⁹² makes the Gītā present his own philosophy of Brahman in which the life we owe to Brahman will not be something that needs escape and in which Mukti will not be for a select few only, but for the whole universe; besides, he deals with interpolations, characters in the epic, form of the epic, etc. Thadani has followed his *Mystery of the Mahābhārata* by the *Bhagavadgītā*²⁹³ in which he holds that the Gītā is a logical step showing a progression of ideas from Sāṅkhya to Vedānta through Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and Yoga, thus trying to correlate the different systems of philosophy and place them in a logical order. M. G. Mainkar's *Gītā-Bhāṣya-Prakāśa*²⁹⁴ is a critical study of the Śāṅkara *Bhāṣya* on the *Bhg* and examines Śāṅkara's comments on important doctrinal passages of the Gītā from a comparative view of other important commentaries.

Kirfel's *Verse Index to the Bhagavadgītā*²⁹⁵ is an alphabetical pāda index of the Gītā based on the vulgate text noting also the variations of the Ānandā-

289. Rajahmundry, 1937.

290. Madras, 1930.

291. London, 1938.

292. *Gītā: A Critique*. Madras, 1939.

293. Karachi, 1936.

294. Sangli, 1951.

295. Leipzig, 1938.

śrama edition and Schrader. Fifty-four pādas appear twice or repeatedly; according to Kirfel, "the majority of these repetitions is certainly without importance, but some seem to be the last traces of former joints of text". P. C. Divanji has divided his *Critical Word-Index to the Bhg*²⁹⁶ into three parts, viz. (1) Primary word-units, (2) Secondary word-units, and (3) Consolidated Index of Primary and Subsidiary word-units or Common Basic forms. Each part is further sub-divided into sections and sub-sections. Thus, Section A of Part I contains vulgate with variants numbering 3865 entries; section B is Kashmir recension numbering 426; and Section C is List of New words in Section B. Besides, there are three Appendices dealing with Critical Apparatus of Sections A and B, and Addenda to Section B. Section A of Part II has two sub-sections, (a) Vulgate with variants recording 1102 entries, and (b) Kashmir recension, 2037 entries; Section B, Tertiary word-units has 296 entries for section (a) and 62 for sub-section (b); while Section C, Quarternary Word-units has 196 for (a) vulgate, and 24 for (b) Kashmir. Part 3 has also Sections A and B with the usual sub-sections, the entries being respectively 1443 and 238. In *Śrīmad-Bhagavad-gītā Laghukoṣa*²⁹⁷ (A Concise Dictionary of the Bhg) L. R. Gokhale first reproduces the text with *pada-ccheda* of each śloka and then comes the dictionary. The dictionary gives the grammatical characteristics of each word, cross-reference to connected words, its explanations by Śaṅkara and his followers in the commentaries, its occurrence in different places in the text, and its meaning in Marāṭhī, English and Hindī. In the proposed *Bṛhat-koṣa*, an encyclopaedia and concordance of the Gītā, the same author intended to bring in commentaries of all schools of thought and to explain different shades of meanings by comparison

of pre-*Gītā*, contemporary and post-*Gītā* literature. The invaluable help rendered by such tools to scholars and research workers can never be overestimated.

An ambitious work dealing with the interpretations of the *Bhagavadgītā*, in several volumes, has been projected by S. C. Roy, of which Book I: *The Bhagavadgītā and Modern Scholarship* was published, from London, in 1941. This is the first attempt at a comprehensive and systematic review of the result of researches on the *Gītā* and the Epic *Mbh*, made during the last three quarters of a century by such competent scholars of the West as Max Müller, Hopkins, Barth, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Weber, Holtzmann, Dahlmann, Schröder, Deussen, Garbe, Winternitz, Macnicol and others as well as by eminent Indian scholars like Bhandarkar, Bankimchandra, Telang, Tilak, Subba Rao, Vaidya and others. According to the author, from the dispassionate and disinterested point of view the *Gītā* may be really regarded as the gospel of love and peace and good will among the nations and races of mankind, as the one scripture of the union of the East and the West, as the cementing bond or the golden link, that holds together and synthesizes the finest and noblest elements of Indo-British culture and Euro-Asian civilization, a consummation towards which the whole creation seems to be moving. The author's main conclusions are: (i) The text of the *Gītā* has remained substantially unaltered in spite of numberless interpolations that have taken place in other portions of the Great Epic; (ii) the *Gītā* is naturally linked both by language and by thought with the thoughts of the Upaniṣads and has always been associated by the Indian tradition more with the Vedānta philosophy than with the Sāṅkhya-Yoga; (iii) Garbe's theory of interpolation in the *Gītā* is entirely without foundation; (iv) the Kṛṣṇa of the *Gītā* is not the same histo-

rical or mythical person who is deified in the Vaiṣṇava scriptures like the *Harivaṁśa*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*; nor are the teachings of the *Gītā* the same as those of the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mokṣadharma of the Great Epic; (v) the *Gītā* was not written by a sectarian poet for a particular sect, but is meant to be and has always been a sacred code of devotion, philosophical insight, and moral and religious culture, universally accepted by all seekers after God, irrespective of caste, creed and colour; (vi) a few verses here and there betray a foreign origin and may have been added by interested sectarian writers and these seem to have found entrance into this popular scripture along with other interpolations; (vii) the *Gītā*, in its original form, was an Upaniṣadic treatise, independent of the Epic *Mbh*, and was later on incorporated into the Epic along with other didactic episodes; (viii) the object of the poet of the *Gītā* was to teach humanity the sublime art of self-control and self-conquest in the midst of trials and temptations of the world, and to encourage the human soul in fighting its battles in spiritual life; (ix) Kṛṣṇa is not the central figure of the *Mbh* in its extant form, nor was he the inspiring deity for the author of the original Bhārata. The Epic, as well as the *Gītā* in its original form, was neither Kṛṣṇaite nor Viṣṇuite; (x) the *Gītā* was a much earlier work than the Bhāgavata episode in the Mokṣadharma, and also much older than the *Anugītā*; (xi) the *Gītā* was composed by a Ṛṣi of the Upaniṣadic age, a poet-philosopher who was a Reformer of the religious and social life of the contemporary Vedic Aryan as well as non-Vedic and non-Aryan people.^{237a}

In "the Original *Gītā*,"²³⁸ T. M. P. Mahadevan examines several attempts at stratification of the *Bhg*

237a. *The Bhg and its Background. Part I: The Poet of the Gītā and his environments* by S. C. Roy was published in 1944.

238. *Hiriyanna Comm. Vol.*, pp. 101-108.

including Otto's *Original Gitā*, and correctly states that unless clear and unmistakable evidences are forthcoming, there is no justification for regarding any verse of the *Gitā* as an interpolation. After considering the views of foreign scholars as to the homogeneity of the *Gitā*, P. C. Divanji in his paper entitled "Was there an original shorter *Gitā*?" concludes that the *Gitā* in its present form is a planned work of one author.²⁹⁹ In another article P. C. Divanji states that the *Bhg* was composed by Vyāsa (or Veda Vyāsa) in its original form and gives 1150 B.C. as his date.³⁰⁰ Belvalkar explains the exact import of *Cāturvarṇya*³⁰¹ in *Bhg*, IV. 13, and the position and purpose of *Bhg*, VII. 7-11 in "Two Mishandled Passages from the *Bhg*". He further shows that there is no trichotomy (karma, bhakti and jñāna) of the pathways to salvation, but only a triune-unity of them in a paper "*Bhg*: Trichotomy versus Triune-Unity".³⁰² "*Abhijñānaśākuntala* and the *Bhg*"³⁰³ by Belvalkar considers whether Kālidāsa knew the *Bhg* and was influenced by its teaching. It is found that in *Rtusamhāra* and *Meghadūta* there is no indication that Kālidāsa studied the *Bhg*, and one is not certain about *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Vikramorvaṣīya*. Parallel passages are, however, seen in the *Kumārasambhava*, *Raghuvamśa* and *Abhijñānaśākuntala*. After dealing with the central ethical lesson of the *Śākuntala*, it is stated in conclusion that the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* can be fittingly described as the dramatisation of the central teaching of the *Bhg*. P. M. Modi has discussed the central teaching of the *Bhg* and the mutual relation of its different *adhyāyas* in "*Bhg*: Its teaching and

299. Pōtādar Comm. Vol., pp. 127-153.

300. "Authorship and Date of the *Bhg*", *Siddha Bhārati*, II, pp. 151-156.

301. *Hiriyanna Comm.* Vol., pp. 1-11.

302. *Karmarkar Comm.* Vol., pp. 1-8.

303. *Raja Comm.* Vol., pp. 49-54.

the harmony of its *adhyāyas*."³⁰⁴ He believes that the central teaching of the *Gītā* is its teaching about the Yoga, i.e. "Disinterested Action" (*yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam*) or in other words "Equanimity" (*Samatvam yoga ucyate*). In commenting on "*Bhg XVI*8"³⁰⁵ R. D. Karmarkar tries to show that the views disapprovingly referred to in *asatyamapratiṣṭham te* etc. point to the Buddhist doctrines. "*Gītā as a Poem*" by D. T. Tatacharya contains discussion on the grammatical significance of particular expressions in the first chapter of the *Bhg*.³⁰⁶ According to S. K. Dikshit the non-mention of the doctrine of *karmayoga* in the available works of Megasthenes does not preclude the probability of his being aware of the *Gītā* and its tenets.³⁰⁷

Swami Nikhilananda has written on the "Practical Teaching of the *Bhg*",³⁰⁸ while Subodh Chandra Mukherjee deals with the "Message of the *Gītā*."³⁰⁹ B. S. Agnihotri tries to show that the *Bhg* mainly aims at the exposition of *Buddhiyoga*.³¹⁰ "The Nature of Yoga in the *Bhg* and *Pātañjala Yoga Sūtras*" by S. N. L. Srivastava concludes that apart from the question of the author of the *Bhg* knowing or not knowing the system of *Pātañjali*, there is an essential similarity between the Yoga of *Bhg* and the Yoga of *Yoga-sūtras* so far as their methods and aims are concerned.³¹¹ K. V. Nilameghacharya seeks to prove that the *Nārāyaṇīya* section is not an interpolation in the *Mbh*. It agrees with the tenets, and supports the authority, of the *Pāñcarātras*.³¹²

304. *Dhruva Comm.* Vol. III, pp. 51-56.

305. *ABORI*, XXXI, pp. 132-137.

306. *JSVOL*, XI, 1.

307. "Was the *Bhg* Known to Megasthenes?". *ABORI*, XXX, pp. 208-215.

308. *PB*, July 1952.

309. *JBHU*, VIII, Nos. 2-3.

310. *JUB*, XX, ii, Sept. 1951.

311. *PB*, XLIV, pp. 503-507.

312. *JSVOL*, IV, 1.

Belvalkar gives a fresh interpretation of *Yajñacakra* mentioned in *Bhg*, III.14-15.³¹³ "Evolution of the Monotheistic Conception in the *Bhg*" by M. Yamunacharya quotes verses in the *Gītā* to show how the one-God idea has developed in the work by gradually assimilating into it the polytheism and animistic tendencies that were in circulation.³¹⁴ S. K. Maitra's "Idea of Conflict in the *Bhg*" states that every chapter of the *Gītā* presents us with a problem of Conflict. It is shown how the idea of conflict, which is a germinal idea in the *Bhg*, develops and what different forms it assumes as we proceed from one chapter to another.³¹⁵ In "Cosmic Significance of Karma in the *Bhg*"³¹⁶ Maitra further points out that the object of the *Bhg* is to show that ethical questions cannot be solved without reference to the metaphysical question relating to the ultimate nature of God and His relation to the Universe. His "Conception of Freedom in the *Bhg*"³¹⁷ ascertains what human freedom means and enquires what its place is in the *Bhg*. G. V. Devasthali has contributed a few important and interesting papers on the *Bhg*. In "Karma in the *Bhg*",³¹⁸ he sets forth the views of *Bhg* on Karma in the words of the *Bhg* as far as possible. The conclusion is that while recognising the due importance of the Vedas, the *Bhg* would assert that they fall short of the final goal or the *summum bonum* which can be attained by reaching a level above them and attaining Yoga or Jñāna or Bhakti; while its teaching on Karma can be very well summarised in one of its own verses *Karmanyevādhikāraṣṭe*. In "*Summum Bonum*

313. "Yajñacakrapravartanam", *Dhruva Comm. Vol.*, III, pp. 45-50.

314. *OJMS*, XXXV, No. 3, Jan. 1945.

315. *Rangasūcī Comm. Vol.*, pp. 517-538.

316. *PB*, XLIV, pp. 60-71.

317. *Ibid.*, pp. 430-439.

318. *Potdar Comm. Vol.*, pp. 243-252.

in the *Bhg*,"³¹⁹ Devasthali states that the *Bhg* idea of *Svarga* is widely different from the Upaniṣadic conception of *Svarga*. The *Bhg* deals with the *summum bonum* positively as well as negatively. Negatively it consists in the removal or destruction of sin, bondage of Karma, old age and death, transmigration. In both its aspects of abstract and concrete on the positive side it consists of being one with the ultimate unity behind the diversity. This unity abstractly conceived is *brahman*, while in its concrete aspect it is *para* or *parama puruṣa*, sometimes identified with Lord Kṛṣṇa. The ultimate result in either case is eternal happiness untouched by *mātrās*, cessation of transmigration and attainment of an unflinching steadiness, equanimity and quietude of mind and *buddhi*. It can be attained by several means such as karma, *jñāna*, yoga, *bhakti*, etc., though the last is often declared to be the best as being the easiest. "Perfect Man in the *Bhg*" (in Marathi)³²⁰ by Devasthali deals with the characteristics of *sthitaprajña*, *yogārūḍha*, *bhakta*, *guṇātīta* and *siddha* or *siddhim prāptaḥ* as given in the *Bhg* as also according to western philosophers. In "Renunciation in the *Bhg*" Devasthali concludes that *saṁnyāsa*, according to the *Bhg*, 'is the abandonment, not of activity, but of *rāga*, *dveṣa*, and *karma-phalāśaṅga*. . . . And it is through this *Saṁnyāsa* that one attains the perfection of *naiṣkarma* and also the final beatitude or *mokṣa* or union with God.'³²¹ In yet another article on "Bhakti in the *Bhg*" Devasthali states that the soft corner of the author of the *Bhg* for *Bhaktimārga* suggests that in his view the best way to attain perfection is to begin not along the lines of *jñāna* or *karman* but along that of

319. BV, XIV, pp. 10-19.

320. *Kevalānanda Abhinandana Grantha*, pp. 57-63.

321. BV, XII, pp. 144-48.

bhakti by resigning every act to the Lord.³²² "Ethics of the *Bhg*" is dealt with by Ratna Shivaram.³²³ C. Kunhan Raja's "*Bhg* and the *Mīmāṃsā*" shows that the *Gitā* truly reflects the view of Karma as held by the *Mīmāṃsā* school of thinkers and there is no doctrinal conflict between the two views.³²⁴ While dealing with "Karmayoga Tradition",³²⁵ P. C. Divanji states that the tradition of the origin and transmission of the Karmayoga doctrine amongst the Kṣatriyas as referred to in the *Bhg* has the corroboration from Purāṇic and Vedic literature. The tradition had become interrupted some time before 1500 B.C. Some Kṣatriya princes, therefore, had to take instructions from Brāhmaṇa sages in later ages. Another article by Divanji deals with "*Bhg* and Sāṅkhya Philosophy."³²⁶ B. N. K. Sarma has discussed in detail the "Trend of the *Bhg*",³²⁷ the paper being concerned with the exposition of one aspect of its philosophy in relation to its metaphysical theory of God and the world of matter and souls. With regard to "Śaṅkara and the Mokṣa Passages in the *Bhg*", M. G. Mainkar³²⁸ shows that Śaṅkara interprets devotion which *Bhg* considers as a means to liberation as knowledge; as regards the nature of the release and the means to it, Śaṅkara takes ample liberties with the text; he reads his doctrine in a plain text, whereas Rāmānuja is more faithful to the text.

While considering the "Philosophy of the *Gitā*—Does it make a Darśana?", P. M. Modi states that no system of philosophy has been taught in the *Gitā*, though philosophical doctrines are sometimes referred

322. *Siddha-Bhārati*, II, pp. 29-35. "Sāṅkhya in the *Bhg*" by Devasthali is to appear in the forthcoming number of the *Poona University Journal*.

323. *Brahmaśūdyā*, X, i.

324. *Ibid.*

325. *JOI*, I, pp. 329-337.

326. *JGJRI*, VIII, Nos. 2-4.

327. *Karmarkar Comm.* Vol., pp. 179-195.

328. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-105.

to in the *Gītā* in support of its main teaching of Yoga or "disinterested action."³²⁹ In another article, P. M. Modi shows that each *adhyāya* of the *Bhṛg* is a unit by itself.³³⁰ Mohan Singh has written a series of articles on the Brahman in the *Bhṛg*.³³¹ The question why a man resorts to the wrong path even though he knows the right one is discussed in the light of the teachings of the *Bhṛg* by Jaidev Singh in the "problem of Incontinence in the *Bhṛg*".³³² D. S. Sarma traces "the path of Yoga in the *Gītā*" from its beginning in the awakening of *Buddhi* to its culmination in *Jñāna*.³³³ In "The Role of the *Gītā* in Life, or Doctrines of the *Gītā* as Basis of Social Reconstruction", K. R. Potdar states that the *Gītā* takes a rationalistic view of all problems and also lays stress on the philosophical and devotional aspects of human life. It lays down a very rational and hence a very sensible basis for the division of society, and its criterion of individual ability has certainly an instructive lesson for the world-society of our times with its artificial division of classes based on material prosperity. Finally it is observed that socialization and spiritualization of the conception of sacrifice especially in view of the dynamic aspect of life the *Gītā* visualises; its rational explanation of the theory of four castes with an attempt to equalise the importance of the different individuals in society in view of their duties, its conception of a hierarchy of intellectuals in society especially for the purpose of the guidance of the common people in society; and on the whole the fire-test of intellectual examination of all the doctrines of individual as well as social importance: these are the

329. *JUB*, XIX, September 1950.

330. *BV*, XI, pp. 85-94.

331. *VK*, Jan. Feb. Mar. 1952.

332. *JGJRI*, VIII, Nos. 2-4.

333. *Cult. Her.* Second Ed., III, pp. 400-423.

principles that deserve to become the basis of social reconstruction of any period.^{333a}

V. B. Athavale has traced the sources of certain verses and ideals as also names of prominent person-ages found in the *Bhg* to the Ṛgvedic texts.³³⁴ In the "*Bhg* and the Upaniṣads",³³⁵ Devasthali ascer-tains the nature of the close relation between *Bhg* and the Upaniṣads from a consideration of parallel passages, parallelism of ideas such as *aśvattha*, two paths, creation and absorption of beings, the import-ance attached to *yajña*, *tapas* and *dāna*, restrictions on the imparting of occult knowledge, etc. The conclu-sion is that the *Bhg* does not merely borrow its ideas from the Upaniṣads, but utilises them for the purposes of its own teaching marking a distinct advance over the Upaniṣads in several cases. *Bhg* also gives new ideas hardly found in the Upaniṣads. P. V. Bapat has shown that Dhammapāla in Ch. 17 (p. 693, Bur. Ed. of Muṇḍayana Press) echoes *Bhg*, II. 2 without mentioning it.³³⁶ In "*Bhg* and *Aṣṭādhyāyī*" P. C. Divanji states that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* furnishes proof of Pāṇini's acquaintance with the original *Mbh* of Veda Vyāsa with the *Bhg* forming its part.³³⁷ K. C. Varadachari has written on the "*Bhg* and the *Kaṭho-paṇiṣad*",³³⁸ and Akshaya Kumar Banerjee on "*Gītā* and *Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha*".³³⁹ G. H. Bhatt takes a survey of the "Literature on the *Gītā* in the Śuddhādvaīta School".³⁴⁰ I. J. S. Taraporewala has written on "*Bhg* and the *Gāthās* of Zarathustra".³⁴¹

333a. *BV*, X, pp. 347-382.

334. "The Relation of the *Gītā* with the *Rgveda*", *JGJRI*, III, Nos. 3-4.

335. *Sarup Bhārati*, pp. 132-142.

336. "Dhammapāla and *Bhg*", *IHQ*, XIII, p. 720.

337. *ABORI*, XXX, pp. 263-276.

338. *JSVOI*, XIII, No. 1. 339. *PB*, Jan, Feb. 1952.

340. *ABORI*, XXX, pp. 131-134.

341. *BDCRI*, V, pp. 197-200.

Before dealing with the other epic, we shall turn to the articles referring to both the *Mbh* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Hopkins has referred to the allusions to the Rāma story in the *Mbh*^{341a}, and has given 62 references in all; there are 17 in the *Āraṇyaka* and 14 in the *Droṇa*, while in six Parvans there is no reference at all; relevant passages have been given. Ruben has given parallel phrases in the *Rām* and *Mbh* in App. V to his text.³⁴² In a chapter entitled "Princes and Peoples of the Epic Poems"³⁴³ Hopkins mentions the features common to the *Rām* and *Mbh* referring to the metre, tales, genealogies, phraseology, etc.; he has also pointed out the differences in the two epics, characters figuring in which he takes to be partly historical and partly mythical. He has further dealt with "Parallel Features in the two Epics"³⁴⁴ and "Proverbs and Tales Common to the two Epics".³⁴⁵ H. C. Raychaudhuri examines the views of Hopkins and Macdonell about the relation of the two epics.³⁴⁶ V. Narayana Aiyar by quotations from the *Nalopākhyāna* of the *Mbh* and *Sundarakāṇḍa* of the *Rām* draws attention to the astonishing similarity in thought and language of the two works.³⁴⁷ The same topic has received full, critical and comprehensive treatment in a paper by Sukthankar, where after considering the previous writers on the subject, and after subjecting the texts to a searching analysis, he concludes that our *Rām* text was used as a "source" by the diaskeuasts of the *Mbh*, and that the *Rām* was composed in the interval which separated the *Bhārata* from the *Mbh*.³⁴⁸ In the "*Rāmopākhyāna* and

341a. *JAOS*, 50, pp. 85-103.

342. *Studien zur Textgeschichte des Rāmāyaṇa*. Stuttgart, 1936.

343. *CHI*, I, pp. 251-276.

344. *AJP*, 19, pp. 139-151.

345. *AJP*, 20, pp. 22-39.

346. *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 25-34.

347. *JOR*, XI, i.

348. "The Nala Episode and the *Rāmāyaṇa*", *Festschrift Thomas*, pp. 294-303.

Rāmāyaṇa"³⁴⁹ Sukthankar finds support for Jacobi's view (that the Rāmopā. was based on the Rām), and gives a concordance of parallel passages in the Mbh and Rām numbering 82, which proves, contrary to Hopkins, that the Rāmopākhyāna is an epitome of our Rām. Incidentally it is shown how very precarious are the conclusions that are based on the vulgate text of the Mbh, and also that many of the passages used in the past for literary and historical purposes have turned out to be unquestionably spurious. N. N. Ghose makes a detailed sociological study of the Rām and the Mbh in which he states that the Mbh represents a later epoch than the Rām; the culture of the epics is the pre-Buddhist moral and material culture; the Bhāratavarṣa of the epics is a conglomeration of small independent states having unconstitutional personal monarchy with no trace of self-government.³⁵⁰ The Kurukṣetra war has been historically interpreted as the struggle between orthodoxy and dissent, the conservative and the radical, in which for the moment the conservative and the orthodox, the sanātanavarṇaśramadharmā, prevailed, leading to the establishment of Brāhmaṇa rule. P. N. Mullick in his *Mahābhārata as a History and a Drama* divides the Rām also into two parts, the first ending with the death of Rāvaṇa and the accession of Bibhiṣaṇa, and the second with the death and disappearance of Rāmacandra and his brothers. In "Monkeys and Serpents in the Epics"³⁵¹ T. R. Venkatarama Sastri says that the Vānaras in the Rām and the Nāgas, Uragas and Pannagas in both the epics were groups of men. V. V. Dixit has dealt at length with the relations of the epics to the Brāhmaṇa literature with regard to history, religion and sociology.³⁵² The

349. *Festschrift Kane*, pp. 482-487.

350. *Asatoosh Silver Jubilee Vol.*, *Orientalia* III, 2, pp. 361-404.

351. *JOR*, XVII, iv.

352. Poona, 1950.

Indian epics in Indo-China is the title of an informative article by R. C. Majumdar.³⁵³

3. *The Rāmāyaṇa*

The problems connected with the critical text of the *Rām* have been dealt with by Ruben.³⁵⁴ He observes that the relations of MSS materials of the *Rām* are in many respects similar to those of the *Mbh*, so that it is not a wrong procedure to follow Sukthankar's method in the classification of MSS very closely. Schemes of recensions and principles of text history are the same in both epics. Like the *Mbh*, the *Rām* MSS are divided into two recensions, N. (Northern) and S. (Southern), each of which is again subdivided into two versions. The N. recension comprises the N.-W. and the N.-E. versions, and the S. recension comprises the version of the *Amṛtakatakāṭikā* and the version of the commentary of Rāmānuja. It may be noted that unlike the *Mbh*, this grouping of the versions is regional in one case, and based on commentaries in the other. Kṣemendra is as important a testimonium for the *Rām* as he is for the *Mbh*. Vimalabodha and Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, common commentators on the *Rām* and *Mbh*, appear to belong to the N.-E. India. Ruben has given a list of 61 MSS in all, including MSS in catalogues, and also those referred to in the printed editions and also those of the commentaries. He gives specimens of critical texts of the *Rām* in parallel columns similar to Kirfel, together with variants from a number of MSS. Four different continuous texts have been given from different parts of the *Rām*. One Appendix deals with the "Sūta".

Almost simultaneously with the B. O. R. I. Edition of the *Mbh*, the authorities of the D. A. V. Col-

353. *IHQ*, XXII, pp. 220-222.

354. *Studien zur Textgeschichte des Rāmāyaṇa*. Stuttgart, 1936.

lege, Lahore, began their critical edition of the N.-W. recension of the *Rām*. Sukthankar's view that such critical editions of different versions or recensions contain much secondary matter and readings which are hard to detect unless the evidence of all extant MSS belonging to different recensions and versions is taken into account, applies in this case also. About 200 codices of the different *Kāṇḍas* of the *Rām* were secured from N.-W. India, of which only about a dozen MSS were finally utilised in this edition. The *Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa* edited by Ram Labhaya was published in 1928, and Bhagavad Datt brought out the *Bāla Kāṇḍa* in 1931. Later on Vishva Bandhu Sastri took charge and released *Aranya Kāṇḍa* in 1935, followed by *Kiṣkindhā* the next year. In reviewing the last publication,³⁵⁵ De expressed doubt whether all MSS belonged to N.-W., and drew attention to the fact that some MSS were misch-codices and no attempt was made to evaluate them. He also pointed out that the edition was frankly eclectic, but on no recognizable critical principles and there was no attempt to make a comparative study of this recension with the S. and Bengal recensions. The *Sundara Kāṇḍa* published in 1940, edited by Vishva Bandhu Sastri, in view of De's criticism, contains useful introductory matter giving detailed text-critical introduction describing the basic MSS and giving their comparative valuation. According to the Editor, all the ten MSS on which the edition is based, represent a unitary version, but the question how far it is a uniform, non-conflate version, is not evident from the present edition. Following the same principles as were adopted in the *Sundara Kāṇḍa*, have appeared the *Yuddha Kāṇḍa* in 1944 and *Uttara Kāṇḍa* in 1947, both edited by Vishva Bandhu Sastri, bringing the project to a successful termination.

Raghu Virā, formerly of the International Academy of Indian Culture of Lahore, had undertaken to edit a critical text of the *Rām* on lines similar to those of the critical edition of the *Mbh.* He seems to have followed the lead given by Ruben in his book. A trial fascicule has been published giving text of the different versions in three parallel columns (of which the left hand column is curiously almost invariably blank) with variants in the footnotes, but without either an introduction or even a bare description of the critical apparatus and the inter-relationship between the various recensions of the epic. There is a bare list of thirty MSS with only their benedictory portions. The first fascicule contains the first six cantos of the *Ādikāṇḍa*,³⁵⁶ which appears to follow silently the Lahore Edition.

Abaji Bapuji Chandorkar alias Śrī-rāmacaraṇa-dāsa, founder of Śrī-Rāmāyaṇa-Saṁśodhana-Samiti in 1935, brought out last year (Poona, 1953) a critical edition of the *Bāla Kāṇḍa* as the first volume of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He is the editor-in-chief with Balacharya Khuperkar and Abaji Baburao Joshi as Associate Editors. About twenty-five MSS, including printed editions, have been utilised in the preparation of the text. Besides Devanāgarī, there are MSS—some palm-leaf—in Telugu, Tamil, Malayālam and Bengali scripts. The text is based on a paper MS from Wai in Devanāgarī characters which is about 375 years old. Variants have been collected together in an Appendix. After the printing was almost complete, the editor luckily came across the oldest dated MS of the *Rām*, which was copied on 5th November 1455. As the colophons for the different cantos of the entire *Kāṇḍa* except canto 26, 27, 30, 37 and 52 read *Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa*, the MS was docketed as of the *Ayodhyā*

356. Lahore. July 1938, pp. 1-38. No further fascicule has appeared until now.

Kāṇḍa, but really it contains the *Bāla Kāṇḍa*. The editor has invited attention to some peculiarities and importance of the MS in a separate section, and its text has been copied in Appendix. After printing the text in seven volumes, the Editor proposes to bring out the translation in another seven volumes, and the last volume, the fifteenth, is to be devoted to the critical study of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in all aspects.

The M. S. University of Baroda has undertaken the preparation of the critical edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the lines of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. A *Rāmāyaṇa* Department was opened on 12th March 1951 in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, a constituent part of the University, which possesses a rich collection of *Rām*-MSS numbering fifty-two. After the preliminary work of preparing a list of all *Rām*-MSS from published catalogues of Libraries of the world was over and a Card-Index giving details of over 2000 MSS was ready, an appeal was issued to the public and private Libraries in India and abroad for loan of *Rām*-MSS, which has received generous response. When about 200 MSS were collected at the Oriental Institute, Baroda, a Collation Section was inaugurated on 4th March 1954 (Hindu New Year's Day) by Shrimati Hansa Mehta, Vice-Chancellor of the University, by writing the first verse of the epic in the collation sheets. So far 219 MSS in different scripts have been procured and several others are soon expected. It is interesting to note that the oldest MS of the *Rām* known so far is dated V. S. 1076 and is written in Newārī script on palm-leaf. It is preserved in the Bir Library, Kathmandu (Nepal). G. H. Bhatt, the Director of the Institute, personally went to Kathmandu and got the MS microfilmed.

As already stated, Sukthankar's method may be rightly applied *mutatis mutandis* to the *Rām* also. Three recensions, viz. Bombay (Southern), Bengal and North-Western, of the *Rām* are known so far, and the critical edition will have to take into account the whole mass of MSS evidence. Besides commentaries on the *Rām* by Rāmānuja, Govindarāja, Kataka and others, the testimonia for the *Rām* include *Rāmāyaṇa-mañjari* by Kṣemendra, *Kamban Rāmāyaṇa*, versions of the *Rām* in the *Purāṇas*, and other Sanskrit works, abstracts and versions of the Epic in Indian and foreign languages and in Buddhist and Jain literature, and researches in archaeology, history, etc. After the publication by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, of the Critical Text, which will discuss crucial points in the critical notes coming at the end of every *Kāṇḍa*, and which will also include the readings and passages rejected by the Editors either in foot-notes or in appendixes according as the passages are short or long, it is proposed to bring out an Epilogue discussing all important problems in connection with the form and the matter of the Epic. The Epilogue will indicate the psychology behind several additions, omissions and substitutions, and will make a thorough study of archaisms and neologisms in grammar, metre, syntax and vocabulary. Besides, there will be a thorough discussion of matters relating to geographical and cosmographical data, flora and fauna, social and economic organisation, and sciences. The undertaking augurs an epoch-making event.³⁵⁷

The Bengal recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with Lokanātha's *ṭikā* and Bengali translation is being pub-

357. I am indebted to Prof. G. H. Bhatt, Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, for giving me particulars about the Critical Edition of the *Rām*, on which the above paragraphs are based.

lished in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series.³⁵⁸ The text has been issued in parts. The earlier parts were edited by Amaresvara Thakur and Narendra Chandra Vedāntatīrtha, and Hemanta Kumar Kāvya-Vyākaraṇa-Tarka-Tīrtha is the present editor. G. A. Grierson has collected and edited the fragments of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Kashmiri by Divākaraprakāśabhaṭṭa, he had been able to procure. His "*Kashmiri Rāmāyaṇa*"³⁵⁹ comprises Śrīrāmāvatāracarita and Lava-kuśayuddhacarita. The story presents many variations from Vālmīki's version, Sītā being described as the daughter of Rāvaṇa. Mention may also be made of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which the Svādhyāya Maṇḍala of Aundh (now shifted to Pardi) is bringing out, edited by S. D. Satavlekar, especially on account of the exhaustive and detailed introduction dealing with various important and interesting problems connected with the epic. Six out of seven Kāṇḍas of the *Rāmāyaṇa* have been published so far. A. Ziesenis³⁶⁰ has considered the origin and development of Javanese Rāma legends.

R. Narayanaswami Aiyar³⁶¹ has published, under an editorial committee consisting of Kuppaswami Sastri and others, the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, S. recension, which purports to have been based on a collation of a number of printed editions and several MSS including three Grantha and one Nāgarī. Characteristic features of none of the MSS are given, and the variants noted are very few in number. The book is artistically got up, neatly printed, and will be very useful for ready reference.

After text-editions we turn to different works on the *Rām*. *Rāmāyaṇa Samālocanā* (in Marathi) by

358. Calcutta, 1933 onwards.

359. Calcutta, 1930; Bibliotheca Indica, No. 253.

360. *Die Rāma-Saga bei den Malaien*. Hamburg, 1928.

361. Madras, 1933.

"Mahārāṣṭriya",³⁶² in its first part containing seven chapters, deals with several important points relating to the *Rām*, such as the excellence of the epic, the ideal character of Rāma, social, political and economic conditions of those days, nature and degree of the civilisation of the Vānaras and Rākṣasas, interpolations, etc. The second part, with eleven chapters, has discussions on the chronology of the *Rām*, determination of geographical places mentioned in the *Rām* where the author identifies Laṅkā with Ceylon, analysis of important characters in the epic, and critical review of some other versions of the Rāma story in the *Ananda Rām*, *Adhyātma Rām*, *Tulasī Rām*, etc. One Appendix enumerates 90 Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇas*. The foreword by J. S. Karandīkar gives in a nutshell the important features and conclusions of the topics discussed by the author. D. C. Sen in the *Bengali Rāmāyaṇas*³⁶³ states that the Vālmiki *Rām* has been welded together from materials taken from (i) the Daśaratha Jātaka, (ii) cycle of legends from southern India that grew up about a grand and noble Brāhmaṇa hero, Rāvaṇa, and (iii) the floating group of legends related to ape-worship. As regards the development of the Rāma saga in Bengal, Sen says that none of the Bengal *Rāmāyaṇas* are translations of the Sanskrit epic, but each author tells his story in his own way weaving into it his own thoughts and ancient traditions current in the neighbourhood. After the Vaiṣṇava revival of Caitanya, later writers filled their poems with Vaiṣṇava doctrines and with theories about Bhakti. *Beowulf and the Ramayana* by I. S. Peter³⁶⁴ is a study in comparative literature on epic poetry, Indian and Anglo-Saxon. Epic construction, political and social conditions of the epic age, epic philosophy, and common characteristics of heroic poetry, have been dealt with

362. Poona, 1927.

364. London, 1924.

363. Calcutta, 1920.

in the book. C. Narayana Menon, in *An Approach to the Rāmāyaṇa*,³⁶⁵ a small booklet covering about 30 pages, regards that the Rām represents a synthesis of the cults and cultures prevalent in different parts of India. The author takes the eternal present as the subject matter of literature and therefore is somewhat critical about the discoveries by literary and archaeological means. The surrender of the will of the reader to Rāma is essential, and when Rāma who integrates all life is realised men cannot fight among themselves any more than branches of the same tree can stifle each other. *The Rāmāyaṇa Polity*³⁶⁶ represents the Doctorate thesis of P. C. Dharma, the object of the authoress in writing the thesis being to depict the political institutions as described by Vālmiki in the Rām. The polity is considered in its different aspects and the conclusion is that "the system of administration during the Rāmāyaṇa period was far from rudimentary and anticipated very much that of the later periods." There is a short bibliography at the end. T. Paramasiva Iyer in his *Rāmāyaṇa and Laṅkā*,³⁶⁷ with the aid of the Rām and the Survey of India standard sheets, locates Laṅkā in Madhya Pradesh near Jubbulpore. The author feels that the Rām was in substance a credible record of the struggle of the Aryans and the Gonds for Janasthāna, the populous, fertile, black-soiled, high level plain of the Damoh district. According to the author, Ceylon cannot be the Laṅkā of the Rām. Maps in the book facilitate reference. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar has appreciated the best parts of the Rām in his *Poetry of Vālmiki*.³⁶⁸ Among the topics dealt with by the author are the origin of the Rām, later additions to the poem, the story of the six books, etc. From Lahore comes the English translation of *Rāmāyaṇa in China* by

365. Benares, 1942.
367. Bangalore, 1940.

366. Madras, 1942.
368. Bangalore, 1940.

Chikyo Yamamoto.³⁶⁹ The first is the *Jātaka* of an unnamed king which was translated into Chinese from an original Indian text by Kang-Seng Hui in 251 A.D.; and the second, *Nidāna* of king "Ten Luxuries" which was translated into Chinese from an original Indian text by Kekaya in 472 A.D. *Przyczynki do Badań Nad Dziejami Redakcyj Rāmāyaṇy* (in Polish) by Eugeniusz Sluszkiewicz³⁷⁰ gives similar passages in parallel columns from the different recensions of the *Rāma* story. *Rāmopākhyāna* and the *Rām*, *Rāvaṇavadha* and the *Rām*, and the *Jānakiharaṇa* and the *Rām* are the recensions considered. The arrangement seems rather complicated and confusing. From his different texts it is difficult to estimate the actual range and extent of the similarities. The author holds that at the time of the *Rāmopākhyāna*, the *Rām* was known in two slightly different forms, and that the recension of Lahore could not have constituted the source of the *Rāmopākhyāna*.

*Lectures on the Rām*³⁷¹ by V. S. Srinivasa Sastri are critical and analytic studies of the different characters in the *Rām*, and contain copious quotations from the *Rām* and numerous references to commentaries with discussions thereon. Sastri does not seek to explain away frailties with far-fetched interpretations like old commentators, but deals "with the *Rām* in the spirit of a critical scholar." K. S. Ramaswami Sastri's *Studies in the Rām* present an estimate of the life and life-work of Vālmiki in the first part, while the second part discusses in detail some of the riddles of the *Rām* with their solutions.³⁷² *Rāmakathā (origin and development) [in Hindi]* by C. Bulcke is an important work on the *Rām*.³⁷³ The first section deals with the old *Rāmakathā* literature and treats

369. Lahore, 1938.

371. Madras, 1949.

373. Allahabad, 1950.

370. Krakow, 1938.

372. Baroda, 1948.

exhaustively the following topics: (1) Vedic literature and Rāmakathā, (2) Vālmiki's *Rām*, (3) Rāmakathā in the *Mbh*, (4) in Buddhist literature, and (5) in Jain literature. The second section discusses the origin of the Rāmakathā under these headings:—(1) Daśaratha Jātaka, (2) original source of the Rāmakathā, (3) interpolations in Vālmiki's *Rām*, and (4) early development of the Rāmakathā. Next follows an exhaustive survey of the later Rāmakathā in four chapters, (1) Rāmakathā in Sanskrit religious literature, (2) in Sanskrit poetic and dramatic literature, (3) in modern Indian languages, and (4) in other countries such as Tibet, Indonesia, Indo-China and Europe. The last section is a full treatment of the development of the Rāmakathā in eight chapters, the first seven of which examine in detail important topics of the seven kāṇḍas showing how the different threads in the Rāma story are woven and indicating the underlying motives in all stages of development. The last chapter emphasises the influence of the Rāmakathā in different parts of the world, the original unity in the diversity of the Rāmakathā, common features of interpolations and the influence of several religious doctrines on the *Rām*. In the Appendix is given a tabular analysis of the Rāmakathā literature in six columns, followed by an important and up-to-date bibliography on *Rām*. N. A. Gore's *Bibliography of the Rāmāyaṇa*³⁷⁴ gives a detailed information about the various text-editions, translations, epitomes and abridgements of the *Rām*, and lists books and papers on the *Rām* in many Indological journals with useful extracts from important books and papers. In addition to useful indexes, the book also contains English translation of Jacobi's *Das Rāmāyaṇa* on the

Epic Language and the Poetic Art of Vālmiki. *Sundara-Kāṇḍam* or the *Flight of Hanuman to Laṅkā* via Sunda Islands by the Air-route by C. N. Mehta contains, besides the text and translation of the *Sundara-Kāṇḍa*, some thoughts on the principal races of mankind, the air-route of Hanuman in quest of Sītā, the location of Rāma's bridge and Rāvana's Laṅkā, the nature of the great world war of the Rām, and the use of the aeroplanes, fire-arms and gases therein.³⁷⁵ K. Chandrasekhāran's *Rāmāyaṇa-Trivenī* examines briefly three different versions of the Rāma story, viz. the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki, the Tamil *Rām* of Kamban and the Hindi *Rām* of Tulasī-dāsa, trying to bring out the special characteristics of these three poets as seen from their ideas about filial love and felicity of marriage, their treatment of the episodes of Sītā's *Svayaṃvara* and the golden deer and their characterisation of Bibhīṣaṇa.³⁷⁶ In the *Rāmāyaṇa* in two volumes Sudha Mazumdar has mostly followed the version of Kṛttivāsa, deleting much that was considered not essential to the life and teachings of Rāma. The book thus has many episodes unknown to Vālmiki. Written in simple English without straining after effect the authoress reproduces the spirit of the epic with the dramatic interest of its incidents and portrayal of heroic characters. The book will no doubt serve the purpose of interpreting the message and the meaning of the Great Epic to the people of the West so as to enable them to form a real understanding of our ideas and thoughts.³⁷⁷ An abridged translation of Vālmiki's *Rām* by N. Chandrasekhara Aiyar has appeared under the title *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*.^{377a} Written in simple English, the book elucidates the substance of the ori-

375. Nadiad, N. D. (? 1941). 376. Madras, 1953.

377. Bombay, 1953.

377a. Bombay, 1954.

ginal. In a learned introduction the author deals with some problems of the *Rām*. The author holds that the dispute as to the question whether Śrī Rāma was an *avatāra* or an ordinary mortal is futile, inasmuch as the real question is what Vālmiki had in mind when he wrote the work, and categorically answers that Vālmiki's intention was to delineate Rama as an *avatāra*. The author also welcomes the study of the *Rām* from the modern approach of taking Rāma as a human being. Attention has been drawn to the excellences of Vālmiki as also to his defects, omissions and inconsistencies. It is rightly stated that "Such blemishes pale into insignificance, when we consider the work in its entirety".

In turning to the articles on the *Rām*, we consider first those dealing with texts and text-criticism, recensions of the *Rām*, and its influence. In the "Original *Rāmāyana*",³⁷⁸ Hopkins contends, from a study of the N.-W. recensions of the *Rām*, that the view that the *Adi Rām* referred to in some Marathi works has been the original of the several recensions is wrong, and that the texts have been handed down by word of mouth, the oral version being reduced to writing at a later period according to local authorities. On the basis of the findings of D. C. Sen, J. Kats³⁷⁹ tries to find out the relationship between the chief characters in the *Rām* as current in Java and Sumatra. M. Ghosh³⁸⁰ concludes that the old Javanese *Rām Kakawin* was partially a translation and partially an adaptation of the *Bhāṣṭikāvya*. In the "Rāmāyana in Greater India" K. A. Nilakanta Sastri³⁸¹ draws attention to the influence of the *Rām* not only in Java and Bali but in Cambodia, Laos, Siam and other parts of Indo-China and China proper. The entire *Rām*, as we have it, including the *Uttara-*

378. JAOS, 46, pp. 202-219.

380. JGIS, III, I.

379. BSOS, V, iii.

381. JOR, VI, pp. 113-120.

kāṇḍa is shown to have been known in Champā in the seventh century A.D. F. W. Thomas refers to the four fragments of the Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*,³⁸² which, however, do not closely correspond to the Indian version of the *Rām*; the incidents and the nomenclature differ widely. They contain a highly peculiar *Rāma* story. It appears that popular *Rāma* narratives differing from the classical version of *Vālmīki* were current very early, and they may have reached China through Nepal. Richard Winstedt shows how the scribe of one Malay text has adapted the text of an earlier original to the taste and exigencies of a Muslim Court.³⁸³ The Laos version of the *Rām*, according to Henri Deydier, is an original redaction, which greatly differs from *Vālmīki*'s as also from the Khmer and Siamese versions. Deydier has given the outline of the story in brief which shows that the geographical environments are not India but Laos. Other indications also clearly establish the Laotian origin of the redaction.³⁸⁴ C. E. Godakumbura has invited attention to a version of *Rāma*'s story from Ceylon.³⁸⁵ C. Bulcke, who has recently made an intensive study of the *Rām*, in his paper on the three recensions of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, has noted the divergences in the Southern, Bengali and North-Western recensions of the *Rām* in a comparative table, and has suggested the genesis of the recensions.³⁸⁶ In a "Prospectus for a Variorum Edition of the South-Indian Recension of *Vālmīki*'s *Rāmāyaṇa*", A. S. Nataraja Ayyar deals with the subject under (i) text, (ii) commentaries, and (iii) aesthetic criticism and Appendices.³⁸⁷

382. *Festschrift Lammann*, pp. 193-212.

383. "The Malay Version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*", *B. C. Law Volume*, II, pp. 1-2.

384. "Rāmāyaṇa in Laos," *JOR*, XXII, pp. 64-66.

385. *JRAS*, 1946, Nos. 1 & 2.

386. *JOR*, XVII, i.

387. *JOI*, I, pp. 207-213.

The origin and growth of the "Jaina Rāmāyaṇas" have been studied, starting from the Vālmīki Rām.³⁸⁸ The two Jaina schools, viz. the Vimalasūri and Guṇabhadra, differ widely from one another; one follows Vālmīki and the other is influenced in parts by Buddhist Rām. V. M. Kulkarni has shown that the story of Rāma, as given by Bhadreśvara, is very near that of Vimala's *Paūmacariya*.³⁸⁹ He has further compared the legendary narrative of Rāma, as found in Saṅghadeva's *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, with the accounts of Vālmīki and Vimala.³⁹⁰ In the "Rāmāyaṇa and the Jaina writers",³⁹¹ H. R. Kapadia refers to several Jaina writers including Vimalasūri, Raviṣeṇa, Guṇabhadra, Hemacandra, Meghavijaya, Puṣpadanta, Śīlasūri, Svayambhū and Bhuvanatuṅgasūri. N. Aiyaswami Sastri refers to the stories of Yayāti, Śibi, Alarka, Jāmadagnya, etc., in his "References to Ancient Stories in the Rāmāyaṇa",³⁹² and concludes that it is impossible to draw on this score a clear line of demarcation between the styles of the Rām and *Buddhacarita* as suggested by K. A. Subrahmanya Iyer. M. V. Kibe³⁹³ regards the *Uttarakāṇḍa* as a necessary portion of the Rām, and as containing facts that are corroborated by archaeological excavations; hence it cannot be an interpolation. Rāya Kṛṣṇadāsa³⁹⁴ tries to show that the Rām had vast contact with the Bhṛgu and that Kāvya denotes a descendant of Kavi, i.e. of Bhṛgu.

Nilmadhav Sen has made an exhaustive study of the linguistic, grammatical and phonetic peculiarities of the Rām. In "A comparative study in some linguistic aspects of the different recensions of the

388. Narasimhaachar, *IHQ*, XV, pp. 575-594.

389. *JOI*, II, pp. 332-338.

391. *JOI*, I, pp. 115-118.

393. *JIH*, XX, 1.

390. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-138.

392. *JOR*, V, pp. 101-107.

394. *NPP*, 1906, pp. 1-18.

Rām”,³⁹⁵ he deals with some salient linguistic characteristics of the different recensions and versions of the *Rām* under (A) Phonology, (B) Morphology: (1) Declension, (2) Conjugation. According to him the versions of the northern recension are regional in character as found from MSS; those of the southern recension present readings as the different commentators noticed them. “Secondary Conjugations in *Rām*”³⁹⁶ gives a detailed account of the Secondary Roots in the *Rām*. The following tenses have been considered in “Syntax on Tenses in the *Rām*”³⁹⁷:— (1) the present tense; (2) the past tenses: (a) perfect, (b) imperfect, (c) aorist; (3) the future tense. Sen has also dealt with “Un-Pāṇinian Perfect forms in the *Rām*”,³⁹⁸ “the Aorist system of the *Rām*”,³⁹⁹ and “the vocabulary of the *Rām*.”⁴⁰⁰ He has shown that the uses of cases in the *Rām* do not differ essentially from those in classical Sanskrit and has studied only those cases as will be of some help for a proper understanding of the historical development of the uses of the cases in Sanskrit, epic and classical, in his paper entitled “On the Syntax of Cases in the *Rām*.”⁴⁰¹ He has also written on “Some Phonetical characteristics of the *Rām*,”⁴⁰² and “Some Epic Verbal forms in the *Rām*.”^{402a}

While dealing with the Authorship of the *Rām* N. J. Shende points out the predominance of the Bhr̥gvaṅgiras family in the *Rām*, and suggests that the Bhr̥gvaṅgirasas, as champions of the cause of Brahmanism, have transformed the original Bhārata into *Mbh*, and the original *Rām* (Books II-VI) into the

395. *JOI*, I, pp. 118-129.

396. *PO*, XIV, pp. 89-106.

397. *JOI*, I, pp. 301-307.

398. *Vāk*, No. 1, pp. 11-18; also *JAS*, L, XVI, 1, pp. 13-39.

399. *Ibid*, pp. 61-64.

400. *Ibid*, pp. 53-60; No. 2, pp. 26-30.

401. *JOI*, II, 118-127; 311-326. 402. *JAS*, L, XVII, No. 3.

402a. *JOI*, III, No. 2.

present epic of seven books by infusing Brahmanical elements.⁴⁰³ R. G. Tivari takes the last half of the first century to the first half of the second century A.D. as the probable time when *Bālakāṇḍa* was written and finished in the form as exists today.⁴⁰⁴ In reply to Tivari, C. Bulcke shows that the entire *Bālakāṇḍa* is a later addition and that before a couple of centuries or more before A.D. 100, a nucleus of the *Bālakāṇḍa* came into existence.⁴⁰⁵ Nilmadhav Sen, on a consideration of the fire-ordeal of *Sitā*, concludes as follows:—(1) In all probability the *Ur-Rām* did not contain the fire-ordeal scene of *Sitā*; (2) this scene was interpolated only in the later part of the second stage of the development of the *Rām*, probably about 100 B.C., after the 'genuine portions' of the Seventh Book were appended to the Epic; and (3) the *Rāmopākhyāna* of the *Mbh* describes *Sitā*'s reunion with *Rāma* more faithfully than the present recensions of the *Vālmīki Rām*.⁴⁰⁶

Then we come to articles containing literary and critical appreciation of the *Rām*. B. V. Kamesvara Aiyar gives the views of Sanskritists in Europe and America about (i) the historicity and interpretation of the events in the *Rām*, (ii) date of composition, and (iii) later additions and interpolations in the *Rām*.⁴⁰⁷ That *Aśvaghoṣa* was greatly influenced by the *Kāvya* style of the *Rām* is the conclusion of G. W. Gurner in "*Aśvaghoṣa and the Rāmāyaṇa*".⁴⁰⁸ The same writer has pointed out passages from the *Rām* containing descriptions of seasons to show that they have immensely influenced the descriptions of seasons by later writers.⁴⁰⁹ In his "*Studies in the Imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa*", K. A. Subrahmanya Iyer makes an

403. *JUB*, XII, 2, September, 1943.

404. *JOL*, II, pp. 9-17.

406. *JOL*, I, pp. 201-206.

408. *JASS*, XXIII, III.

405. *Ibid*, pp. 327-331.

407. *QJMS*, XVI, pp. 240-252.

409. *JASS*, XXVI, I.

intelligent survey of the similes and metaphors of the *Rām*, and analyses Vālmiki's imagery, which shows that imagery comes forth more spontaneously and in greater abundance in descriptions of nature and in speeches made by different characters when under the stress of some emotion.⁴¹⁰ R. Sadashiv Aiyar has considered the *Rām* in the light of Aristotle's *Poetics*.⁴¹¹ While dealing with the "Portrayal of Nature in Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*", P. T. Narasimhachar observes that on reading the *Rām* one feels that Vālmiki is among those pioneers who have civilised nature and made her the perennial source of our aesthetic delight.⁴¹² S. P. Bhattacharyya has made an exhaustive study of the *Śabdālaṅkāra Yamaka* in the *Rām*,⁴¹³ while R. Narayana Aiyar writes on the quest of Sītā — a critical study of Vālmiki's technique.⁴¹⁴ There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to whether Kālidāsa knew Vālmiki's *Rām*. J. J. Pandya has quoted passages from Kālidāsa to show his acquaintance with the *Rām*.⁴¹⁵ In his article on the Commentators of the *Rām* in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,⁴¹⁶ P. P. S. Sastri has arranged ten commentators chronologically as follows:—(1) Kaṇḍāḍai-Rāmānuja, (2) Veṅkaṭa-Kṛṣṇādhvarin; (3) Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, (4-5) Īśvara Dīkṣita (two commentaries), (6) Maheśatīrtha, (7) Govindarāja, (8) Ahobila Ātreya, (9) Kataka Yogindra, and (10) Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa alias Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa. Of these commentaries by Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5 and 9 are available only in MS, while others have been printed either in Devanāgarī or Grantha.

410. JOR, III, iv; IV; V, pp. 147-155.

411. JUB, XII, 2, September, 1943.

412. Siddha Bhāratī, I, pp. 246-249.

413. JOI, I, pp. 80-85; 130-137.

414. JOR, XV, iii.

415. JOI, I, pp. 342-345.

416. ABORI, XXIII, pp. 413-4.

The problem of the location of Laṅkā has occupied several scholars. M. V. Kibe,⁴¹⁷ in a number of contributions, seeks to establish that Laṅkā is to be located in Central India near Amarkantak. Hira Lal⁴¹⁸ also supports the same view, and so does J. C. Ghosh,⁴¹⁹ who shows that in ancient times there existed in the border of Madhyadeśa a region called Laṅkā. H. C. Raychaudhuri⁴²⁰ and V. R. R. Dikshitar⁴²¹ hold Ceylon to be Laṅkā; and D. R. Bhandarkar,⁴²² as against the Central India theory, states that Daṇḍakāraṇya means Mahārāṣṭra. V. H. Vader⁴²³ locates Laṅkā on the equator, stating the present Maladivas to be the Rākṣasadvīpa. D. P. Misra places Laṅkā on the portion of the Bay of Bengal which washes the shores of the northern part of the present Andhra country.⁴²⁴ On a consideration of several descriptions of the journeys to and from Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā given by Vālmiki, Daniel John finds them to be geographically correct, consistent, and clear. His conclusion is that Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā was not on the Vindhya range but on an island in the midst of the sea off the Southern or South-eastern coast of the Island of Ceylon.⁴²⁵ According to S. B. Chaudhuri, Laṅkā referred to Ceylon, and as territorial names Sīṃhala and Laṅkā were convertible terms, although the latter is also used as the name of the city.⁴²⁶ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri rejects the proposed identification of Laṅkā of the Rām with Cen-

417. *IHQ*, IV, pp. 693-702; *ABORI*, XVII, pp. 371-384; XXII, pp. 123-127. He has also published a book entitled *Location of Laṅkā* (Poona, 1947).

418. *Jha Comm.* Vol., pp. 151-161.

419. *ABORI*, XIX, pp. 84-86.

420. *CR*, Dec. 1933, pp. 311-313.

421. *IC*, I, pp. 579-585; *POC*, VII, pp. 243-252.

422. *Jha Comm.* Vol., pp. 47-57.

423. *IHQ*, II, pp. 345-350.

424. *Mahakosala Hist. Society's Papers*, Vol. I.

425. "Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā", *ABORI*, XXI, pp. 270-279.

426. "Laṅkā", *IHQ*, XXVII, pp. 119-128.

tral India, Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula; but his own view is anything but conclusive, for he thinks the origin of Laṅkā was legendary, this legend being the source of the same and similar geographical names found in later times.⁴²⁷ M. V. Kibe locates Vālmīki's āśrama in Oudh,⁴²⁸ while R. M. Shastri interprets and explains the texts of the *Rām* relating to the journey of Rama and his party from Śṛṅgiverapura to Bharadvājāśrama to show that the Bharadvājāśrama, occupying an area of more than two miles, was situated in Allahabad, 22 miles from Singraur (ancient Śṛṅgiverapura).⁴²⁹

Parallel to the identifications of Laṅkā, have been the identifications of Vānaras and Rākṣasas by different scholars. Kibe⁴³⁰ and Hira Lal⁴³¹ take them to be inhabitants of the country round Amarkantak; Goṇḍas are stated to be the cultural descendants of Rāvaṇa, and similarities between the culture and customs of the Goṇḍas and those described in the *Rām*, according to Kibe, appear to be more than accidental.⁴³² G. Ramdas⁴³³ identifies the Śabarās, Rākṣasas and Niśādas of the *Rām* with the Mundaris. Chintaharan Chakravarti⁴³⁴ shows that beastly behaviour and appearance have wrongly been attributed to Hanūman, Sugrīva, Rāvaṇa and others in Hindu mythological works. T. K. Venkataraman suggests that the "Rākṣasas"⁴³⁵ may be Asuras. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri takes the colonies of Kiṣkindhā and Laṅkā to be Aryan.⁴³⁶

427. "Laṅkā", *Ramalinga Reddy Comm. Vol.*, Part II, pp. 20-24.

428. *JGJRI*, III, Nos. 3 & 4. 429. *Ibid.*

430. *Festschrift Thomas*, pp. 144-145.

431. *Jha Comm. Vol.*, pp. 151-161.

432. *Festschrift Kane*, pp. 264-266.

433. *JBORS*, XI; also *IHQ*, V, pp. 281-299; VI, pp. 284-289; 544-548; etc.

434. *IHQ*, I, pp. 779-781.

435. *Ramaswami Comm. Vol.*, pp. 187-190.

436. *IC*, V, pp. 193-196.

In "Rāma und Śambūka,"⁴³⁷ Wilhelm Printz opposes Weber's theory that the Śambūka episode of the Rām refers to the settlement of the Christian missionaries on the Coast of Coromandel, and traces development of this episode in the *Padmapurāṇa*, *Mbh*, *Raghuvamśa*, *Uttararāmacarita* and *Adhyātmārāmāyana*. "Evolution of the Myth of Ahalyā Maitreyī"⁴³⁸ is dealt with by Dharendra Varma, who shows that the Ahalyā legend is not historical, but is based on mythology or religious allegory. It begins with Indra and ultimately merges into the greatness of Rāma, serving as a fine specimen showing how it has been adapted by devotees of Viṣṇu to serve their own purpose.

P. C. Dharma has written a number of articles dealing with various aspects of the Rām. Her "Social Life in the Rām"⁴³⁹ considers the point under food, drink, toilet, clothing and common recreations. Particulars from the Rām about the habits, customs, education, accomplishments, status and rights of women are given in "Women during the Rām period,"⁴⁴⁰ "Some Customs and Beliefs from the Rām,"⁴⁴¹ "Occupations and Professions as seen in the Rām,"⁴⁴² and "the Musical Culture in the Rām,"⁴⁴³ are the other articles by the same authoress. In his paper on the "Culture of the Rāmāyana,"⁴⁴⁴ Swami Nihśreya-sānanda gives some aspects of the culture and writes on some important characters that figure in the epic. P. P. S. Sastri relies on tradition and maintains that "Vālmiki composed his Rām in seven books of 24000 stanzas".⁴⁴⁵

437. *ZH*, V, iii.

438. *Jha Comm. Vol.*, pp. 427-433.

439. *QJMS*, XXVIII, pp. 1-19; 73-88.

440. *JIH*, XVII, pp. 1-28.

441. *PO*, II, pp. 112-124; 152-163.

442. *ABORI*, XIX, pp. 127-146.

443. *IC*, IV, pp. 445-454.

444. *Cult. Her.*, I, pp. 77-97.

445. *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Comm. Vol.*, pp. 321-323.

M. N. Ray has written about the food and drink in the Rāmāyaṇic age,⁴⁴⁶ and about the civilization of the Vānaras as depicted in the Rāmāyaṇa.⁴⁴⁷ He has also prepared an index to the proper names occurring in the Rāmāyaṇa based on Bombay and Calcutta editions.⁴⁴⁸

In the "Fish in the Rām" S. L. Hora describes five particular species of the fish mentioned in the different recensions of the Rām.⁴⁴⁹ He has further discussed the methods of catching them from the Pampā lake as referred to in the Rām. Following the Gauḍiṇya version of the Rām, Sibdas Chaudhuri collects systematically materials and data relating to animals scattered over the volumes of the epic in "Concordance of the Fauna in the Rām."⁴⁵⁰ A. S. Nataraja Ayyar refers to the offering of protection to others as the special trait in Rāma's character in "the Doctrine of Abhayadāna and its application."⁴⁵¹ S. N. Vyas has recently contributed a number of articles dealing with different aspects of the culture in the Rām. According to him, belief in omens was a characteristic of the Rāmāyaṇa Age.⁴⁵² He has further shown that the doctrine of Karma and transmigration is recognised everywhere in the Rām.⁴⁵³ In his paper on "Love and Longing in the Rām"⁴⁵⁴ he states that as contrasted with the gay and brilliant picture of love and romance which is actually a portrayal of sexual life as it actually prevailed in the age, we get a saner and sober view of love in Vālmiki's delineation of the ideal of love which was stressed by the cultured

446. *Sarasvatī Bhavan Studies*, IV, pp. 109-123.

447. *Op. cit.*, V, pp. 19-73.

448. *Op. cit.*, Vols. V onwards.

449. *JAS*, L, XVIII ii.

450. *IHQ*, XXVIII, pp. 135-141; 249-256; 350-359; XXIX, pp. 56-63; 121-128; 276-286; 378-386; *contd.*

451. *JOI*, II, pp. 143-152.

452. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-8.

453. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-29.

454. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-117.

people of the age. In another article he gives Vālmikian conception of an ideal wife.⁴⁵⁵ With regard to the position of women, the following papers by S. N. Vyas deal with the topic: "Woman as Chattel in the *Rām*",⁴⁵⁶ "Treatment of Abducted Women in the *Rām*",⁴⁵⁷ "Position of the Daughter in Rāmāyana Society",⁴⁵⁸ "Polygamy and Polyandry as depicted by Vālmiki",⁴⁵⁹ and "Ascetic Attitude towards Women in the *Rām*".⁴⁶⁰ In the "Caste System in the *Rām*" S. N. Vyas shows that in the society of the Rāmāyana age caste system was something like an arrangement for division of labour with happy relations subsisting between different varṇas.^{460a} Bhabatosh Bhattacharya⁴⁶¹ and Nilmadhav Sen have written on the *Rām* and its influence upon Ballāla Sena and Raghunandana.⁴⁶²

4. The Purāṇas

Ever since Wilson made pioneer attempts in the cause of the Purāṇas, Pargiter was the only European scholar who made a critical and serious study of the Purāṇas, drawing attention of scholars to their historical importance. Besides his valuable book, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*,⁴⁶³ he contributed some papers on ancient genealogies. Pargiter makes a careful study of the texts of the Purāṇas to extract and reconstruct history from them from the earliest times down to Bhārata war in his *Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad.* He also holds that the Purāṇic tradition does not support the theory of the Aryan immigration through the

455. *Ibid.*, pp. 303-310.

457. *PO*, XIV, i-iv.

459. *JOI*, II, pp. 221-231.

460a. *JOI*, III, No. 2.

462. *Ibid.*, pp. 232-235.

463. Oxford, 1922; also "Ancient Indian Genealogies", *BCV*, pp. 107-113; "Viśvāmitra, Vasistha, Hariścandra and Sumaharṣeṇa", *JRAS*, 1917, pp. 39-67; etc.

456. *PO*, XIII, iii-iv.

458. *JOI*, III, pp. 72-83.

460. *PO*, XVI, i-iv.

461. *JOI*, II, pp. 18-22.

N. W. Frontier, and takes the Mānava, Aila, and Saudyumna dynasties as respectively belonging to the Dravidian, Aryan and the Muṇḍa races, the Saudyumnas being specially connected with the Mon-Khmér branch of the Muṇḍās. According to Pargiter, mid-Himalayan region was the original home of the Ailas or Aryans, and they entered North India about 2050 B.C. He pleads for the existence of two distinct traditions, Brahmanical and Kṣatriya. Vedic texts constitute Brahmanical tradition which lacked historical sense, while the Kṣatriya tradition comprised the epics and the Purāṇas. It is impossible to do even a partial justice to Pargiter's treatise here. His views and theories have been subsequently criticised piecemeal; Munshiji objects to the definite Kṣatriya bias of Pargiter and states that Vedic corrective is required to test the trustworthiness of the Purāṇic traditions;⁴⁶⁴ Dutt⁴⁶⁵ and Ghurye⁴⁶⁶ express contrary opinions regarding the Himalayan origin and the three racial stocks propounded by Pargiter; Dikshitar⁴⁶⁷ and Pusalker⁴⁶⁸ criticise the so-called Brahmana and Kṣatriya tradition theory and other views; Pusalker⁴⁶⁹ has tried to prove that the Purāṇas were not originally in Prakrit as held by Pargiter; Rapson⁴⁷⁰ and Winternitz⁴⁷¹ also have subjected to criticism some particulars in Pargiter's book. Another valuable contribution to Purāṇic studies is Kirfel's *Das Purāṇa Pāñcalakṣaṇa*.⁴⁷² The author divides the

464. *Early Aryans in Gujarat*, Bombay, 1941, Lecture I.

465. *Aryanisation of India*, Calcutta, 1925, pp. 140 ff.

466. POC, IX, pp. 911-954.

467. "Purāṇas—A Study", IHQ, VIII, pp. 747-767.

468. "Brāhmaṇa Tradition and Kṣatriya Tradition", *Hiriyanna Comm. Vol.*, pp. 151-155.

469. "Were the Purāṇas Originally in Prakrit?", *Dhruva Comm. Vol.*, II, pp. 101-104; also *Supra*, Chap. II.

470. *CHI*, I, pp. 296-318.

471. *HIL*, I, pp. 519, 521, 523, 524 (notes), etc.

472. Bonn, 1927.

texts of the Purāṇas into three different groups, and gives relevant extracts from each group under the five topics constituting the characteristic features of the Purāṇas. Footnotes give exact references to each stanza of the text, and variations and divergent texts have been given in parallel columns.

Meyer's *Gesetzbuch und Purāṇa*⁴⁷³ deals with the interrelation of the Purāṇa and lawbook in ancient India. It is mainly a detailed criticism of Losch's work on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, where he tried to subvert the previous arguments of Meyer and prove that the Smṛti has been pieced together from fragments taken out of the Purāṇas. Meyer proves that the Smṛti was the source of the Purāṇa passages and that no individual authors of Hindu law books existed. R. C. Hazra, who is continuing to contribute a number of articles on the different aspects of the Purāṇas in general and of individual Purāṇas, in his valuable *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*⁴⁷⁴ has subjected the Purāṇas to a critical analysis from the ritualistic point of view. The first part of the work fixes the chronology of Purāṇic chapters dealing with Hindu rites and customs showing two stages, and the second part deals with pre-Purāṇic and Purāṇic Hindu society. According to Hazra, in the first stage (third-fifth century A.D.) only topics on Hindu rites and customs which formed the subject matter of early Smṛti-Saṁhitās such as Manu and Yājñavalkya were incorporated, while the second stage (A.D. 600 onwards) incorporated new topics regarding gifts, initiation, sacrifices, *koma*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *tīrthas*, *tithis*, *utsarga*, etc., not found in Manu and Yājñavalkya or in Purāṇas written prior to the sixth century. The Appendices refer to the verses quoted from the Purāṇas in the Smṛti

473. Breslau, 1929.

474. Dacca, 1940.

works and to untraceable Purāṇic verses. In his *Purāṇa-Praveśa* (in Bengali)⁴⁷⁵ G. C. Bose has sought to introduce order and consistency into the entire confused and tangled scheme of Purāṇa chronology. According to him, the 'Purāṇa' stands for what we now term 'history'; the 'Kalpa' is a cycle of 5000 years divided into 14 *manvantaras* (one of 359 years and thirteen of 357 years each) as also into four *yugas* (Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali) in the proportion of 4 : 3 : 2 : 1; the Bhārata war took place in 1416 B.C.; the beginning of the Kali Age was 1458 B.C.; and of Kṛta Age 5958 B.C. *Purāṇa-Vivecana* (in Gujarati)⁴⁷⁶ by Durgashanker Shastri deals with various aspects of the Purāṇas, giving an analysis of each Purāṇa, and studies the chronology of the Purāṇas and their relation with Sanskrit literature, etc. Y. V. Kolhatkar treats mainly the different problems connected with the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, its religion and philosophy, etc., in his *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatādarśa* (in Marathi).⁴⁷⁷ V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar writes about the Flood legends in the Purāṇas, polity in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, architecture, Tamil version of the *Matsya*, etc., in his *Matsya Purāṇa, A Study*.⁴⁷⁸ The same scholar's *Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa*⁴⁷⁹ refers to the cosmogony, historical portions, philosophy, music, etc., of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, as also to the literature known to the author of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, etc. H. C. Raychaudhuri, in his *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*,⁴⁸⁰ has collected and discussed statements, references and allusions from early literature to throw light on the Kṛṣṇa problem and the growth of Bhāgavatism. He discredits the views that Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was a solar deity, or a tribal god or a vegetation deity, and treats

475. Calcutta, 1934.

476. Ahmedabad, 1931.

477. Poona, 1921.

478. Madras, 1935.

479. Madras, 1933.

480. Calcutta, 1920; 2nd Ed., 1936.

Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva as one person, identical with Kṛṣṇa Devakiputra of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. Har Dutt Sarma in his *Padma-Purāṇa* and *Kālidāsa*⁴⁸¹ shows that the *Padmapurāṇa* was the source of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* and *Raghuvamśa*. E. Rose⁴⁸² and H. Meinhard⁴⁸³ have dealt with Śaivism in the Purāṇas. Rose has given some texts of the thousand names of Śiva. J. Meier⁴⁸⁴ treats of the grammatical archaisms in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. Vincent Smith, D. R. Bhandarkar, K. P. Jayaswal, H. C. Raychaudhuri, S. N. Pradhan, V. Rangacharya and others in their treatises on the early history of India refer to and draw on the Purāṇas as affording one of the sources for chronology and history. V. R. Ramswami Sastrulu and Sons of Madras have brought out, what they call a critical and scientific edition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in three volumes; but the MSS are not described, variants are only occasionally noted but their sources are not indicated; and hence the claim of a critical edition cannot be justified. It is however a very handy and useful edition of the text.

S. Subba Rao⁴⁸⁵ has translated the entire *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* into easy English prose embodying the interpretation of the three leading schools of thought, viz. *Advaita*, *Viṣiṣṭādvaita* and *Dvaita*. There are two other translations of the *Bhāgavata* into English that appeared during the period under review, viz. by Swami Vijñānānanda⁴⁸⁶ and by J. M. Sanyal.⁴⁸⁷ Pandit T. R. Krishnacharya, in the first part of

481. Calcutta, 1925.

482. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Śaivischen Namenglaubens nach den Purāṇen*. Bonn, 1934.

483. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Śaivismus nach den Purāṇas*. Berlin, 1928.

484. *Der Archaismus in der Sprache des Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. Leipzig, 1931.

485. Tirupati, 1928.

486. Allahabad, 1921-23.

487. Calcutta, 1930-34.

his Index to *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*,⁴⁸⁸ deals with the different stories in the *Bhāgavata*, which will help in locating and identifying any tale with reference to Skandha and Adhyāya. The second part, which gives an alphabetical Index, will be of much use to scholars. *Study of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa or Esoteric Hinduism*⁴⁸⁹ by P. N. Sinha contains an English translation of the essential features of the *Bhāgavata*, omitting unimportant details, political description, prayers, adorations, etc.

Following Kirfel's method, J. D. L. de Vries has considered comparative texts for the *Śrāddhakalpa* in the *Harivaṃśa* and five other Purāṇas to arrive at the original.⁴⁹⁰ The author finds two groups: (A) *Harivaṃśa*, *Brahmāṇḍa-P.*, *Śiva-P.*, and *Vāyu-P.*, and (B) *Matsya-P.* and *Padma-P.* E. Abegg gives a detailed analysis of the contents of the *Pretakalpa* of the *Garuḍa-P.*,⁴⁹¹ which treats of death, the dead and the beyond. The Indian flood-legends and the *Matsya-P.* have been studied by A. Hohenberger⁴⁹² where he deals with the worship of Viṣṇu.

In the *Political Thought in the Purāṇas*⁴⁹³ Jagdish Lal Shastri has collected together all passages dealing with *Rājanīti* from the *Matsya*, *Agni*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Garuḍa*, *Kālikā* and *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇas*. The first thirty-two pages give a summary in English of the different passages. D. R. Patil's *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*⁴⁹⁴ is the first systematic attempt at presenting the *Kulturgeschichte* based on the data collected from the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. The book is divided into two parts: the first part gives

488. Kumbhakonam, 1934.

489. Second Edition. Madras, 1950.

490. *Der Śrāddhakalpa im Harivaṃśa und in fünf anderen Purāṇen*. Bonn, 1928.

491. *Der Pretakalpa des Garuḍa Purāṇa*. Leipzig, 1921.

492. *Die indische Flutsage und das Matsyapurāṇa*. Leipzig, 1930.

493. Lahore, 1944.

494. Poona, 1946.

the facts collected from the *Vāyu*, while the second interprets them in the light of other material and puts them in their chronological setting. The first five chapters in each part deal with intellectual culture and the last five with material culture. Patil's researches indicate three chronological strata in the *Vāyu*. The Appendix gives an alphabetical list of tribes and place-names with cross references. D. R. Mankad has edited the *Yuga-Purāṇa*⁴⁹⁵ from the *Garga-Saṁhitā* which throws new light on the Maurya and Śuṅga periods of Indian history. His *Purāṇic Chronology*⁴⁹⁶ contains a detailed discussion of his various theories. It is divided into two parts each comprising four chapters. Introduction, and the theory of Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method in its application both to pre-Kali and Kali chronology are dealt with in Part One. "Kashmir Chronology", "Nepalese Chronology" and "Naraka Episode and Assamese Chronology" are considered in Part Two, which deals also with "Various Chronological Computations" and has an Appendix entitled "Who was Alexander's Contemporary?—Candragupta Maurya or Candragupta I of the Gupta Dynasty?" The Third Part discusses various problems connected with the contemporaneity of Sandrocottus and Alexander, while the Concluding Part is devoted to the "Yugas", "Saptarṣi Era", "Harṣa Vikramāditya" and "Pre-Mahābhārata Ayodhyā Dynasty". Mankad's main thesis, as explained in detail later on, is that the Purāṇic genealogies have been constructed on an arbitrary and artificial method, designated as Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method by him, according to which, one King-name in the genealogies represents a time-unit of 40 years or 20 years. On the basis of Purāṇic and Greek evidence, he arrives at the following important dates:—5976 B.C. = date of Manu

Vaivasvata; 3201 B.C. = date of the Bhārata war; 2976 B.C. = date of the Kali Era; 2066 B.C. = date of Buddha's death; 2051 B.C. = date of Mahāvīra's death; 1986 B.C. = accession of Mahāpadma; 1550 B.C. = Accession of Candragupta Maurya; 1498 B.C. = Coronation of Aśoka; 1113 B.C. = accession of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga; 329 B.C. = accession of Candragupta I; c. 312-10 B.C. = start of the Gupta Era; 307-5 B.C. = accession of Samudragupta. Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty has been taken as the contemporary of Alexander. It is also stated that the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga) came to be studied in Kashmir in the eleventh century B.C. There are several genealogical tables in the book.

*Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*⁴⁹⁷ by S. K. De is a very valuable contribution to the critical and historical study of Caitanyaism which is really 'a peculiar system of erotico-mystic devotion,' the historical development of which sentiment (*madhura-rasa*) has so aptly and adroitly been traced and discussed by the author. The whole Caitanya movement and its dogmas and doctrines have been discussed in a historical and critical spirit. The biographical sketches on the life and doings of the six Gosvāmins in Chapter III and the historical notes on both Sanskrit and Bengali literary works on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism in Chapters V-VI are very learned and give a true and correct picture of the history of the Faith and Movement. There is also an elaborate and learned summary of the teachings on theology and philosophy of the famous Ṣaṭ-Sandarbhās of Jīva Gosvāmin.

497. Calcutta, 1942. Reference has been made later to De's articles on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism and also to the present work. The topic is included here as it is vitally connected with the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

Purāṇa Index,⁴⁹⁸ of which two volumes have so far appeared covering entries from A to M, is the last published work of V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar on the subject. It covers the following five Purāṇas—*Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu*, *Matsya* and *Bhāgavata*, and is mainly an index of names—deities, persons, tribes, mountains, rivers, etc.; some entries, however, deal with subjects, and summaries of stories relating to some important persons or places have been given. *Purāṇa-viṣaya-samānukramaṇikā*⁴⁹⁹ by Yashpal Tandon is, as stated by its alternative title, a Concordance of Purāṇa-Contents. Some idea of its contents can be had from the titles of its twelve chapters. The introductory chapter deals with *maṅgala*, characteristics, divisions, number, and subjects of the Purāṇas as also with Purāṇa-māhātmya, Purāṇa-paramparā and Sūta-dharmas. The next chapters deal respectively with (2) *Sṛṣṭipralayādi*, (3) *Kālamānādi*, (4) *Varṇa-varṇānucaritam*, (5) *Jātayaḥ*, (6) *Adhyātmaprakaraṇam*, (7) *Smṛti*, (8) *Adhidaivikam*, (9) *Vividha-deva-devārṇa*, (10) *Adhiyajña*, (11) *Adhivijñāna*, and (12) *Bhūvṛttam*. Under *Adhivijñāna* are to be found different sciences including *Alaṅkāra*, *Arthasāstra*, Architecture, Sculpture, Botany, Astronomy and Astrology, *Nirukta*, Archery, Medicine, Palmistry, Tantra, *Sarpavidyā*, *Ratnaparikṣā*, etc. R. C. Hazra has prepared an exhaustive monograph on the Upapurāṇas critically dealing with all aspects of the problem, which is awaiting publication. It is hoped that it will soon see the light of the day.

Coming to the individual articles, it is to be observed that there are a number of articles dealing with the Purāṇas in general which give a bird's eye view of the whole problem. H. P. Sastri's "*Mahāpurāṇas*"⁵⁰⁰ contains an amplified version of his pre-

498. Madras, 1951, 1952.

499. Hoshiarpur, 1952.

500. JBORS, XIV, pp. 323-340.

face to the Catalogue of MSS. There is also an article under the same title by R. C. Hazra dealing with several aspects of the "Mahāpurāṇas."⁵⁰¹ Dikshitar's "Purāṇas, A Study"⁵⁰² is a well-documented article considering critically the views of earlier scholars on the subject and is well-worth perusal. Venkatachella Iyer⁵⁰³ refers to Pargiter with approval and maintains that some of the major Purāṇas were re-written with the set purpose of promoting ignorance and superstition! In his "Origin and Character of Purāṇa Literature," B. C. Muzumdar⁵⁰⁴ states that the Purāṇa as a branch of sacred literature did exist in the Vedic days; that it was recognised as the fifth Veda when the *Atharva Veda* was recognised as the fourth division of the Veda; that for each Vedic school a separate Purāṇa was organised, such as *Agni* for *R̥gveda*, *Vāyu* for *Yajurveda*, and *Sūrya* for *Sāma-veda*; and that the modern Purāṇas received only a little additional matter by way of accretion from fifth century onwards, though the modern Purāṇas differ radically from the Vedic Purāṇas. The origin and history of the worship of phallus, Durgā and Śiva in the *Mbh* and Purāṇas have also been considered. E. J. Rapson has a chapter on the Purāṇas in his *Cambridge History of India*,⁵⁰⁵ where he regards the Purāṇas as of Kṣatriya origin and the genealogies as partly legendary and partly historical, it being necessary to disentangle history from legend by removing all accretions from the Purāṇas. Hazra has written about the age and origin of the Upa-purāṇas whose

501. *DUS*, II, 1933, pp. 62-69.

502. *IAQ*, VIII, pp. 747-767.

503. *QJMS*, XIII, pp. 702-713.

504. *ASJ Comm.* Vol., *Orientalia*, III, 2, pp. 7-30.

505. Chapter XIII, pp. 296-316. Winternitz, in his *HIL* (I, pp. 517-586), also has a valuable chapter, wherein, besides a short analysis of each of the Mahā-Purāṇas, are given views of the Western scholars about Purāṇic religion, philosophy, etc., with the author's masterly comments.

formation he places between 650-800 A.D.⁵⁰⁶ According to him, the origin of the Upa-purāṇas is due to the activity of the Smārta adherents of the popular religious systems such as Pāñcarātras, Pāsupatas, etc., who took up the Purāṇas for establishing the Varnāśramadharma and the authority of the Vedas among the masses, and increased the number of the already existing Purāṇas by the addition of fresh Purāṇic works—the Upa-purāṇas. Among other general articles by Hazra on the Purāṇas may be mentioned “the Smṛti-chapters of the Purāṇas,”⁵⁰⁷ “Purāṇas in the History of Smṛti,”⁵⁰⁸ “the Pre-Purāṇic Hindu Society before 200 A.D.,”⁵⁰⁹ “Purāṇic Rites and Customs as influenced by the Economic and Social Needs of the Sacerdotal Class,”⁵¹⁰ “the Purāṇa Literature as known to Ballālasena”⁵¹¹ and “the Great Women in the Purāṇas.”⁵¹² S. P. L. Narasimhaswami believes in the existence of “Purāṇasamhitā”⁵¹³ recounting the history of India from the earliest times. The original is now lost as a separate work, its contents being found in the Purāṇas. Narasimhaswami, however, claims to have restored the original Purāṇasamhitā. In a lecture on “Purāṇas as illustrative of our national psychology and evolution,”⁵¹⁴ C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar says that “the whole idea of the Purāṇas was to bring prominently before the minds of the people the fundamental truths of Indian life, thought and religion.” He emphasises that the Purāṇas must be read as human documents. In another paper entitled “Some Thoughts on the Purāṇas,”⁵¹⁵ he states that “all the Purāṇas seek to portray the Indian genius

506. *ABORI*, XXI, pp. 38-62. An article on “Some Lost Upa-purāṇas” is to appear in the forthcoming issue of *JAS*, L.
 507. *IHQ*, XI, pp. 108-130. 508. *IC*, I, pp. 587-614.
 509. *IHQ*, XV, pp. 403-431. 510. *DUJ*, XII, pp. 91-101.
 511. *JOR*, XII, pp. 129-146.
 512. *Great Women of India*, Calcutta, 1953, pp. 221-237.
 513. *JSVOL*, VI, II. 514. *JOR*, XXII, pp. 76-80.
 515. *PB*, Feb. 1953, pp. 86-91.

in its nobility and greatness as well as in its inefficiency and weakness.... the Purāṇas are an invaluable help towards the good life and they are also at the same time an epitome of the Indian genius, its possibilities and its shortcomings and triumphs—actual and possible.”

There are a number of articles dealing with the historical importance of the Purāṇas as also with history in the Purāṇas and the application of the Purāṇic tests for interpreting history. “Historical Importance of the Purāṇas”⁵¹⁶ by S. Bhimasankararao is mostly based on Pargiter’s work and gives the following general conclusions by Pargiter: (i) *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* present a remarkable similarity and declare that they were taken from *Bhaviṣya*; (ii) *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* have much in common, the portions of the former being in ornate classical prose style; (iii) *Viṣṇu* professes to be narrated by Parāśara and sets about Paurava genealogy from the standpoint of Parikṣit and deals with Ikṣvāku and Bṛhadratha genealogies from the time of the Bhārata war; (iv) there was a twelve-year sacrifice in Naimiṣa in Adhiśimakṛṣṇa’s reign and the Sūta recited Purāṇas; (v) *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* were originally in Prakrit and were subsequently Sanskritised; (vi) dynastic portion terminates with the downfall of the Āndhras about A.D. 236. *Matsya* brings the narrative down to mid-third century A.D. As Samudra-gupta’s conquests are not mentioned in the Purāṇas, their accounts closed before A.D. 335. According to V. R. R. Dikshitar the Purāṇas are altogether an encyclopaedia of information and therefore very useful in writing a history of Indian culture and civilisation—viz. history of Indian polity, of Indian society, of religion and philosophy, legal history, history of arts

and crafts, architecture and iconography. Finally there is the consideration of the chronological system of the Purāṇas based on the explanation of G. Bose. The date of the Mbh war is stated to be 1415 or 1451 B.C.⁵¹⁷ In "Historical Value of Purāṇic Works"⁵¹⁸ P. C. Divanji stresses the necessity of recognising Purāṇas as independent sources of ancient Indian history, both political and cultural. K. P. Jayaswal proves that the word Yaunaḥ mentioned in the Vāyu Purāṇa represents the Kuṣāṇa title Jauna.⁵¹⁹ According to A. S. Altekar there is nothing unscientific or unhistorical in utilising the data of the Purāṇic genealogies of pre-Pāṇḍava period for reconstructing contemporary history after taking all due precautions. He finds that the various pre-Bhārata war dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas are as real and historical as the Śiśunāgas or the Mauryas or the Āndhras. The date of the Bhārata war has been placed in c. 1400 B.C., and the Vedic period is shown to have started some time about 2700 B.C.⁵²⁰ Munshiji has narrated the historical events from Rāma Jāmadagneya to Janamejaya Pāriksita on the basis of Vedic and Purāṇic data.⁵²¹ S. B. Chaudhury has tried to show that the original traditions of all Purāṇic stories were current contemporaneously with the Vedic legends.⁵²² K. H. Dhruva's "Historical Contents of the Yugapurāṇa", which forms part of the *Garga Samhitā*, throws a good deal of light on the ancient history of India.⁵²³ It may be noted in this connection that Jayaswal had published the text of *Yugapurāṇa*⁵²⁴ before Dhruva's text appeared, and the latter con-

517. "Purāṇas: Their Historical Value", *PO*, III, pp. 77-83.

518. *Bhāgavāla Indrajī Comm.* Vol., pp. 102-125.

519. *JBORS*, XVIII, ii.

520. *JBHU*, IV, pp. 183-229; *PIHC*, III, pp. 33-77.

521. *BV*, I, pp. 144-153.

522. *JIH*, III, pp. 1-17.

523. *JBORS*, XVI, pp. 18-66.

524. *JBORS*, XIV, pp. 397-421.

tains many unwarranted emendations. Reference is already made to Mankad's edition of the work.

H. C. Seth interprets the Purāṇas to suit his peculiar theory of the Mauryas.⁵²⁵ According to him the belief that Candragupta was a scion of the Nanda king of Magadha and that his mother Murā was of a lowly origin from whom the family-name Maurya was derived is of very late origin; Candragupta does not belong to the Nanda family but comes from the Gandhāra region and takes the name Maurya from Massaka, the capital of the kingdom founded by him. Seth gives 325 B.C. as the date of the commencement of Candragupta's reign in his own ancestral domains in N-W.⁵²⁶ He also maintains that Parvataka is Porus of the Greek historians and a chief of the Kurus.⁵²⁷ In "an obscure passage in the Purāṇas",⁵²⁸ Seth cites a passage from the Viṣṇu and concludes that in the older Purāṇic traditions Kali Age seems to have ended with the nine Nandas of Magadha; in later Purāṇic traditions Kali Age was extended indefinitely beyond the *Mbh* to include much later, unpopular and anti-Brahmanic dynasties. He further hazards the opinion that Devāpi and Maru in the passage may be Porus and Candragupta Maurya. Dasharatha Sarma does not agree with Seth that the *Mudrārākṣasa* indicates that Candragupta was not related to the Nandas and that the word Vṛṣala therein stands for a royal title.⁵²⁹ P. S. Telang has also

525. "Did Candragupta Maurya belong to North-Western India?" *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 158-165; "The Origin of Candragupta Maurya," *JUPHS*, XIII, 74-95; "North-West Origin of Candragupta Maurya", *JBORS*, XVIII, Pl. 2.

526. "Beginnings of Candragupta Maurya's Reign", *JIH*, XIX, pp. 17-21.

527. "Identification of Parvataka and Porus", *IHQ*, XVII, pp. 172-179.

528. *Festschrift Kane*, pp. 420-422.

529. "Ancestry and Caste of Candragupta Maurya according to the *Mudrārākṣasa*", *PO*, V, pp. 58 ff.

discussed the origin of Candragupta Maurya. He disagrees with Seth's view that Candragupta belonged to Gandhāra. According to him Candragupta belonged to Eastern India and was unrelated to the Nandas of Magadha.⁵³⁰ "Pre-Mauryan history according to the Purāṇas" by P. L. Bhargava shows that the chronology of the Pradyotas, Bimbisāras, Śiśunāgas, Nandas and Mauryas as preserved in the Purāṇas accords with all the facts mentioned in various works.⁵³¹ Narayana Tripathi considers "Purāṇic Traditions"⁵³² which show India as the early home of the Aryans from where they migrated in all directions at different periods; divisions of the world also have been given. S. K. Chatterji pleads for the recognition of the Jātaka as a repository of Purāṇas containing old traditions and hence to be seriously taken along with Brahmanic Purāṇas and epics.⁵³³ In another article, he shows that Purāṇic stories have a pre-Aryan substratum in Prakrit originals, and deals with the evolution of the Kṛṣṇa legend in Bengal.⁵³⁴ Jwala Prasad Singhal takes the great flood as the first great landmark in Purāṇic history, regards Punjab as the home of the Aryans, and compares the information collected from the Purāṇas with Western historians.⁵³⁵ G. Harihara Sastri draws attention to the "Purāṇic genealogies in the Avantisundarikathā,"⁵³⁶ which refer to the chronology of Kaliyuga dynasties beginning with Pradyota. Gulshan Ray gives a connected political history of India from 7350 B.C. to 3000 B.C. on the information supplied by the Purāṇas;⁵³⁷ according to the author, corroborated statements in the Purāṇas

530. "Did Candragupta Maurya belong to Gandhāra?" *NUJ*, No. 5, pp. 106-109.

531. *IHQ*, XVIII, pp. 232-9.

532. *IHQ*, IX, pp. 461-9; 880-5; X, pp. 121-4.

533. Woolner *Comm.* Vol., pp. 34-40.

534. *BSOS*, VIII, pp. 457-466.

535. *IHQ*, III, pp. 25-47.

536. *Rangaswami Comm.* Vol., pp. 351-8.

should be accepted as trustworthy. In "Pre-Mahābhārata Solar Dynasty",⁵³⁷ D. R. Mankad tries to reconstruct the genealogy of the solar dynasty as it stood in the days of the Mbh war by fixing up the number of steps from Vaivasvata Manu, the progenitor of the dynasty, to Brhadbala, who participated in the Bhārata war. The Purāṇic records are shown to display harmony despite apparent discrepancies in various lists. After discussing the comparative historical value of the Vedic texts and Purāṇas, Pusalker has tried to show in "Dāśarājña: A New Approach,"⁵³⁸ that the war of Saṁvarāṇa may be said to be the Purāṇic account of the Vedic Dāśarājña. "Date of the Purāṇas"⁵³⁹ by S. D. Gyani mentions the following four stages of development of the Purāṇic literature: (i) Vamśa and Akhyāna stage (1200-1000 B.C.), (2) Bifurcation stage (1000-600 B.C.), (3) Pāñcalakṣaṇa stage (600 B.C.-A.D. 100), and (4) Sectarian or encyclopaedic stage (A.D. 100-700).

In "New Light on the History of the Imperial Guptas,"⁵⁴⁰ B. Bhattacharyya gave a summary of the account from the Kaliyuga-vṛttānta section of the *Bhaviṣṣyottara Purāṇa*. R. C. Majumdar,⁵⁴¹ Jagan Nath,⁵⁴² D. C. Sircar⁵⁴³ and others have shown that the Kaliyuga-vṛttānta is not genuine but a modern forgery. R. C. Majumdar has fixed the date of the forgery between A.D. 1893 and 1903 during which the reading "Sthiragupta" was preferred to "Puragupta". In view of the discrepancies between the accounts of the *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu*, and *Bhāgavata* about the Guptas, D. C. Ganguly states, contrary to Pargiter's view, that no importance should be attached to

537. *PIHC*, IV, pp. 101-116. 538. *BV*, III, pp. 160-170.

539. *Munshi Diamond Jubilee Comm. Vol.*, II, pp. 70-79.

540. *NJA*, V, pp. 131-5.

541. *JBRS*, XXX, pp. 1 ff.

542. *IHQ*, XX, 345-50.

543. *JBRS*, XXXI, i-ii.

544. *JNSI*, VI, pp. 34-36.

these accounts until they are corroborated by authentic evidence.⁵⁴⁵ Pusalker has given an account of Vikramāditya from the *Skanda* and *Bhaviṣya Purāṇas*.⁵⁴⁶ In another paper he has tried to show that R̥gvedic Kuruśravaṇa may be identified with Purāṇic Kuru-Saṁvarāṇa.⁵⁴⁷

Reference may be made here to the view of D. R. Mankad about Yugas, Manvantaras and the Manvantara-Caturyuga method. In his paper on the "Yugas"⁵⁴⁸ he discusses the methods of the Yuga calculations and ascertains the number of years given to each Yuga. The system of Manvantaras as propounded in the Purāṇas is discussed in the paper on "Manvantara."⁵⁴⁹ "The Caturyuga formula", according to Mankad, "took 40 years for a ruling unit and not for one king's regnal period," and "the Manvantara was the regular method of calculating regnal periods of different kings in a dynasty."⁵⁵⁰ His conclusions may be summed up as follows:—"In 'the Yugas' and the 'Manvantaras' the following conclusions have been based: (1) All the Yugas at first had equal number of years, each having 1000 years at first and then 1200 years, the total of four Yugas being at first 4000 years and then 4800 years. (2) Yugas were computed at various figures, so were Caturyugas. (3) Manvantara was used in two senses: (a) period for one Manu (Manu being a generic title for a king) to another Manu, or (b) period from a Manu (starter of a dynasty) to any king of his line. (4) Caturyuga in the usual Purāṇic formula चतुर्गुणा हि संख्याता ताधिका ह्येक सप्ततिः सन्वन्तरम् was computed

545. "The Purāṇas on the Imperial Guptas", *IHQ*, XXI, pp. 141-3.

546. *BV*, VIII, pp. 129-134.

547. *BV*, II, pp. 72-76; See above, pp. 42-48.

548. *PO*, VI, iii-iv.

549. *IHQ*, XVIII, pp. 208-230.

550. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

at 40 years. (5) The Purāṇas employ [what Mankad calls] the Manvantara-Caturyuga method for longer chronological computations. The kings who are enumerated in the genealogical tables of solar and lunar branches are really Caturyugas or regnal units of 40 years each. (6) Such Manvantara-Caturyuga computations were made particularly in the days of the 71st, 72nd and 73rd kings, more particularly in the days of the 72nd king, and hence we have Manvantara (= total regnal period of a dynasty up to a particular point) equal to 71 Caturyugas." Mankad demonstrates in his article "Manvantara-Caturyuga Method" how this method is actually used in our Purāṇic genealogies under (1) Manvantara of 71 Caturyugas, (2) Yuga of 1000 years, (3) Yuga of 1200 years, and (4) Caturyuga of 40 years.⁵⁵¹ In "Some Traditional chronological considerations: Purāṇic: Buddhist: Jain," Mankad shows, on a consideration of several calculations taken from Purāṇic, Buddhist and Jain traditions, that our chronology has been adjusted at different periods, and that the usual method of adjusting the chronology was by selecting the lowest date out of the various dates prevalent: the omission of all kingless periods by one school of chronologists as well as the difference in the date of the *Mbh* war are responsible for the prevalence of these various dates.^{551a}

Identifications of the seven and (or) nine great islands of the earth according to the Purāṇas give rise to some articles under this heading.⁵⁵² "Topography in the Purāṇas" forms the subject of two articles by

551. ABORI, XXIII, pp. 271-290.

551a. *Munshi Comm.* Vol. II, pp. 19-34.

552. S. B. Chaudhury, *JA*, 59, pp. 204-208; 224-228; V. V. Venkatachella Iyer, *QJMS*, XV, pp. 62-75; 119-127; 238-243; XVI, pp. 116-124; 268-283; XVII, pp. 30-45; 94-105; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *JIH*, Sp. No. pp. 61-64.

S. B. Chaudhury, dealing with *Puruṣottamakṣetra*,⁵⁵³ which comprised the modern South Cuttack and Puri Districts of Orissa, and *Veṅkaṭācala*.⁵⁵⁴ Topographical information contained in the *Agni*⁵⁵⁵ and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas*⁵⁵⁶ has been alphabetically given by H. V. Trivedi, who also writes about *Hemakūṭa*,⁵⁵⁷ which was towards the west and was supposed to stretch up to the far western part of Kashmir. Bina-yak Misra deals with "folklore and Pauranic traditions about the origin of God Jagannātha,"⁵⁵⁸ disentangling historical facts clouded by legends and mythology with the help of archaeological data. V. S. Agrawala identifies *Nāgadvīpa* with Nicobar,⁵⁵⁹ and finds confirmation for the identification in the *Valahassa Jātaka*.

Pātāla has been identified with Central America by H. R. Mankad,⁵⁶⁰ and O. C. Gangoly conjectures that Borneo may have been the *Barhiṇadvīpa* of the *Purāṇas*.⁵⁶¹ In his note on the "*Vastrāpatha-māhātmya* of the *Skandapurāṇa*," H. C. Raychaudhuri shows that the king Bhoja who reigned at Kanoja was supreme over *Surāṣṭra* and abdicated in favour of his son.⁵⁶² According to V. B. Athavale, *Prāgjyotiṣa* mentioned in the *Mbh* as capital of *Naraka* and *Bhagadatta* was in the *Anarta* country (modern *Kāthiāwād*).⁵⁶³ In "*Puranic Data on the Original House of the Indo-Aryans*,"⁵⁶⁴ R. B. Pandey shows that the original home of the Indo-Aryans was *Madhyadeśa* and its centre lay between *Ayodhyā* and *Pratiṣṭhāna*. Pusalker has dealt with "*Aryan origins*

553. *IHQ*, V, pp. 659-665.

555. *IHQ*, IX, pp. 470-8.

557. *IHQ*, XII, pp. 534-540.

559. *JBORS*, XXIII, i.

561. *JGRS*, III, I.

563. "Was *Prāgjyotiṣa* of *Narakāstura* in Assam or Kathiawad?", *BV*, VIII, No. II.

564. *IHQ*, XXIV, pp. 94-103; also *PIHC*, X, pp. 129-137.

554. *IHQ*, VII, pp. 245-253.

556. *IHQ*, X, pp. 642-664.

558. *IHQ*, XIII, pp. 600-609.

560. *PO*, II, II.

562. *IHQ*, V, pp. 129-133.

according to Purāṇas⁵⁶⁵ where he shows that Pargiter's theory of three racial stocks is not supported by traditional history or Vedic texts. Purāṇas suggest common origin for all dynasties. The earliest tradition indicates India as the home of the Aryans, memories of extra-Indian home having faded out. D. C. Sircar has given a critical edition of the "Text of the Purāṇic List of Rivers"⁵⁶⁶ which is a part of the geographical section common to some of the Purāṇas, on the same plan as followed in his "List of Peoples."⁵⁶⁷

J. D. L. de Vries in his "Purāṇa-Studies"⁵⁶⁸ gives comparative texts of a portion of the two groups of the Purāṇas about Śrāddha ritual already dealt with in his earlier work. D. R. Patil has appended tables comparing the Purāṇic traditions with the Gupta inscriptions covering about 300 points.⁵⁶⁹

Then we turn to articles on individual Purāṇas. There have been quite a number of articles on the date of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, different scholars like C. V. Vaidya⁵⁷⁰ (tenth century A.D.), B. N. Krishnamurty Sarma⁵⁷¹ (prior to sixth century A.D.), A. N. Ray⁵⁷² (550-650 A.D.), Durgashanker Sastri⁵⁷³ (not before ninth century), R. C. Hazra⁵⁷⁴ and J. N. Banerjea,⁵⁷⁵ assigning it to different periods basing their conclusions on literary and other data. Gode draws attention to an illustrated MS of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* copied in 1648 A.D.⁵⁷⁶ M. R. Majumdar has described an illustrated Gujarati verse-version of *Bhāgavata*

565. *Siddha-Bhārati*, II, pp. 269-272.

566. *IHQ*, XXVII, pp. 215-238.

567. *IHQ*, XXI, pp. 297-314.

568. *Festschrift Pavry*, pp. 482-487.

569. *EDCRI*, II, also App. 570. *JBBRAS*, I.

571. *ABORI*, XIV, pp. 182-218.

572. *JARS*, II, III.

573. *BV*, II, pp. 129-139.

574. *NIA*, I, pp. 322-328.

575. *IHQ*, XXVI, pp. 138-142.

576. *NIA*, I, pp. 249-253.

Daśama-skandha.⁵⁷⁷ Ray points to I. 3, VI. 8 and XII. 1 in the Bangawasi edition as interpolations in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*⁵⁷⁸ and takes the author of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* to be a native of the Tamil country,⁵⁷⁹ who was familiar with and proud of his country and holy places and rivers as also of Tamil Ālvārs, etc; he further shows that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has borrowed words and ideas from the *Gauḍapāda-kārikās*.⁵⁸⁰ S. Srikantha Sastri tries to prove that the *Devī-Bhāgavata* which can be assigned to the sixth century is slightly earlier than *Śrīmadbhāgavata*.⁵⁸¹ According to Ganganath Jha the description in the *Śivapurāṇa* (372. i. 129) is more applicable to the *Devī-Bhāgavata*.⁵⁸² As to the relation between the *Bhāgavata* and the *Devī-Bhāgavata*, R. C. Hazra has proved in his paper on the *Devī-Bhāgavata* that the *Devī-Bhāgavata* cannot be regarded as the real *Bhāgavata* and that it is much younger than the latter.⁵⁸³ S. Srikantha Sastri shows that *Paramārthasāra*, like *Gauḍapāda's Kārikās*, forms one of the basic texts for *Śrī Bhāgavata*, and may be assigned to the fourth century A.D.⁵⁸⁴ With regard to the place of origin of the *Bhāgavata*, J. N. Banerjea states that it was composed in the south—most probably in the Pāṇḍya country in comparatively early times.⁵⁸⁵ Gode fixes the date of Śrīdharaśvāmin, author of the commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and other works, between c. A.D. 1350 and 1450.⁵⁸⁶

577. Karmarkar Comm. Vol., pp. 106-114.

578. *IHQ*, VIII, pp. 253-256.

579. *Ibid*, pp. 49-53. C. V. Vaidya, J. N. Banerjea and others also take the author of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* to have lived in the Dravida country.

580. *BSOS*, VII, pp. 107-111.

581. *ABORI*, XIV, pp. 241-249.

582. *Kuppuswami Comm.* Vol., pp. 1-2.

583. *JOR*, XXI, pp. 49-79, on pp. 63-66.

584. *IHQ*, XII, pp. 105-111.

585. *IHQ*, XVII, pp. 138-143.

586. *ABORI*, XXX, pp. 277-283.

According to Swami Tejasānanda "the philosophy of the Bhāgavata" is intensely practical and affects all aspects of life.⁵⁸⁷ S. Mehta has invited attention to the linguistic peculiarities of the *Bhāgavata* in an informative paper.⁵⁸⁸

S. B. Chaudhury gives an analysis of the *Agnipurāṇa* and places its compilation between the middle of the eighth and the middle of the ninth century A.D.⁵⁸⁹ P. C. Lahiri⁵⁹⁰ and Raghavan⁵⁹¹ write about Riti and Guṇa in the *Agnipurāṇa*; and Meyer⁵⁹² about "Tree-culture in the Agni" giving the Sanskrit text. S. K. De assigns the *Alaṅkāra* portion of the *Agnipurāṇa* to the beginning of the ninth century A.D.⁵⁹³ S. B. Chaudhury has shown that the *Vāyupurāṇa* is the genuine *Mahāpurāṇa*⁵⁹⁴ and Pusalker also has arrived at the same conclusion after a fresh consideration of the problem.⁵⁹⁵ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri draws attention particularly to two passages in the *Vāyupurāṇa* which give views regarding the origin of the Vedas and the *Samhitās*.⁵⁹⁶ He has also referred to the *Gayāmāhātmya* in the *Vāyupurāṇa*.⁵⁹⁷ Four extracts from the *Matsyapurāṇa* relating to war and peace have been given by the same scholar.⁵⁹⁸ P. V. Kane has given some of the striking agreements between Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra* (I. 20-21) and the *Matsyapurāṇa* (209) and shown that the *Matsya* passages are based on the *Kauṭiliya*.⁵⁹⁹ G. Venket Rao has successfully vindicated the *Matsya*

587. *Cult. Her.*, 2nd Ed., III, pp. 281-299.

588. *BV*, IV, pp. 30-40.

589. *JAHRS*, III, pp. 127-134.

590. *IHQ*, IX, pp. 448-460.

591. *IHQ*, X, pp. 767-779.

592. *Festschrift Winteraltz*, pp. 56-65.

593. *JRAS*, 1923, pp. 537-549; also *PO*, II, pp. 15-17.

594. *JBORS*, XV, pp. 183-194.

595. *JUB*, X, pp. 148-155; see *supra*, pp. 31-41.

596. *PIHC*, IV, pp. 77-79.

597. *BRRI*, IX, pp. 65-67.

598. *ASVOI*, I, pp. 17-26.

599. "The Kauṭiliya and the Matsya Purāṇa", *Law Volume*, II, pp. 13-15.

Purāṇa list of the Andhra kings.⁶⁰⁰ According to A. P. Karmarkar, *Matsya* happens to be the earliest extant *Purāṇa* in Indian literature.⁶⁰¹ He has also written a very brief note about *Bṛhaspati-Nitisāra* in *Garuḍa-purāṇa*.⁶⁰² S. B. Chaudhury proves, contrary to H. P. Sastri's view which placed the *Garuḍa* in the third-fourth century A.D., that the *Garuḍa*, as it exists now, could not have received its final shape before the tenth or eleventh century A.D.⁶⁰³ In "the legend of Sitā in the *Kūrma Purāṇa*" P.-E. Dumont invites attention to the passage in *Kūrma*, II. 34 and gives its translation.⁶⁰⁴ According to the passage, the Sitā who lived with Rāvaṇa and sat on his lap was not the real Sitā but a false image of her created by Agni. In the opinion of the author, "this new version of the legend of Sitā shows, in a striking way, how an old legend was transformed under the influence of new religious conceptions." Hazra shows that the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, an encyclopaedic work of the Gupta period, cannot be dated earlier than 400 and later than 500, and was compiled either in Kashmir or in the northernmost part of the Punjab.⁶⁰⁵ According to V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar the major portion of the present *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* existed from the commencement of the Christian era,⁶⁰⁶ and he assigns the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* to the sixth or seventh century B.C.⁶⁰⁷ Surya Kanta has given an English translation of the flood legend in the *Skanda Purāṇa* with prefatory remarks in "Mārkaṇḍeya and the Flood Legend in the *Skanda Purāṇa*".^{607a}

600. *PIHC*, XIII, pp. 70-74.

601. *Karmarkar Comm.* Vol., pp. 77-81.

602. *Siddha-Bhārati*, I, pp. 239-240.

603. *IHQ*, VI, pp. 553-560 (in collaboration with S. C. Banerji).

604. *Siddha-Bhārati*, I, pp. 236-238.

605. *JUG*, III, pp. 39-64. 606. *IHQ*, VIII, pp. 370-371.

607. *PIHC*, XIII, pp. 46-50. 607a. *BV*, X, pp. 301-329.

Besides his articles referred to earlier, Hazra has written on the Smṛti chapters of the *Kūrma Purāṇa*,⁶⁰⁸ and *Matsya Purāṇa*,⁶⁰⁹ and about "our present *Agni Purāṇa*",⁶¹⁰ "date of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*",⁶¹¹ "the apocryphal *Brahma Purāṇa*",⁶¹² "some minor Purāṇas",⁶¹³ "the *Vāyu Purāṇa*",⁶¹⁴ "the *Varāha Purāṇa*",⁶¹⁵ "the *Bṛhannāradiya* and the *Nāradiya Purāṇa*",⁶¹⁶ "the *Padma Purāṇa*",⁶¹⁷ "the *Līṅga Purāṇa*",⁶¹⁸ and "the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*".⁶¹⁹

Now we shall deal with articles on the *Upapurāṇas*. The *Adipurāṇa*, dealing with Kṛṣṇa's life and promulgating his glory, published by Venkatesvara Press, is quoted, according to Hazra, in the *Hari-bhaktivilāsa* and *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta* and is not of much antiquity. It is distinct from the earlier *Adipurāṇa*, which is enumerated as one of the *Upapurāṇas* and which is quoted in various Smṛtis and *Nibandhas*.⁶²⁰

Gode puts the date of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* before 1000 A.D.,⁶²¹ Raghavan states 700 A.D. as the earlier limit of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* and gives a summary of its contents.⁶²² R. C. Hazra distinguishes between the present and an earlier *Kālikāpurāṇa* and places the former between the tenth and the eleventh century A.D.⁶²³ Tirthanath Sarma places "*Kālikā Purāṇa*", a compilation of the time of Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa, to the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century.⁶²⁴ Reference has already been made

608. *IHQ*, XI, pp. 262-286.

609. *ABORI*, XVII, pp. 1-36.

610. *IHQ*, XII, pp. 683-691.

611. *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 265-275.

612. *IC*, II, pp. 235-245.

613. *ABORI*, XIX, pp. 69-79.

614. *IHQ*, XIV, pp. 131-139.

615. *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 321-337.

616. *IC*, III, pp. 477-487.

617. *IC*, IV, pp. 73-95.

618. *Ibid*, pp. 415-421.

619. *NIA*, I, pp. 522-528.

620. *BV*, VI, pp. 60-73.

621. *JOR*, X, pp. 289-294.

622. *JOR*, XII, pp. 331-360.

623. *ABORI*, XXII, pp. 1-23.

624. *IHQ*, XXIII, pp. 323-326.

above to some articles on the *Devī-Bhāgavata*. Contrary to the opinion of T. N. Ramachandran who has tried to show that the scenes of the penance of the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa in the Deogarh relief are based on the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa as contained in the *Devī-Bhāgavata* (Benaras Ed., IV, 5-10, esp. ch. 6),⁶²⁵ R. C. Hazra points out the difference between the Deogarh relief and the Nara-Nārāyaṇa story in the *Devī-Bhāgavata* and concludes that "it is probable that the sculptor of the relief used some early Purāṇic or epic story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa, which is now lost to us; or he derived his ideas from various sources then available to him, one of these sources being the *Mbh.*"⁶²⁶ In "*Devī-Bhāgavata or Bhagavatī-Purāṇa?*" S. N. Tadpatrikar tentatively concludes from MS evidence and "with a little help of imagination" that the Purāṇa was originally called *Śrī-Bhagavatī-Purāṇa*, with each of its parts called *Aṃśa*, and later, with the growing popularity of *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, came the period of controversy when the devotees of Devī named their Purāṇa *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāṇa* naming each part as *Skandha*. Then the two extremes met indiscriminately with different sorts of Adhyāya-colophons. Finally, the word Devī was added to *Bhāgavata* to distinguish it from its rival and the word *Devī-Bhāgavata* is found in Adhyāya-colophons of printed editions.⁶²⁷ R. C. Hazra, in "the *Mahābhāgavata-Purāṇa*, a work of Bengal," shows that as distinct from *Bhāgavata*, *Mahā-bhāgavata* is an Upa-purāṇa (though it calls itself Purāṇa and Mahāpurāṇa, but never Upa-purāṇa and this claim is supported by *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa*), dealing with the praise of Devī and her worship. It is a work of Bengal, and most probably of its eastern part which was adjacent

625. *IHQ*, XXVII, pp. 191-196.

626. *IHQ*, XXIX, pp. 387-392.

627. *ABORI*, XIII, pp. 559-562.

to Kāmarūpa. It was written about the tenth or eleventh century A.D.⁶²⁸ "The Devī-purāṇa" by Hazra shows that it is one of the important Upa-purāṇas dealing with the exploits and worship of Devī and containing particulars about literature on the worship of Śakti. Hazra believes the main body of the work to have been composed in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. somewhere in the vicinity of Tamluk in Bengal. There is an appendix listing verses quoted from *Devī-purāṇa* in later works.⁶²⁹ Genuine portions, as distinct from spurious additions, of the *Narasimha Purāṇa*, an Upa-purāṇa glorifying Narasimha, have been assigned by Hazra to the fifth century A.D.⁶³⁰ He has gathered particulars about the "Nandi Purāṇa" from the extant Purāṇic literature as also from statements and quotations in Smṛti digests in the absence of a MS of the work.⁶³¹ Hazra has further shown that the *Bṛhannandikeśvara* and the *Nandikeśvara Purāṇa* were two Upa-purāṇas written in Bengal. He reconstructs their contents, etc. from quotations in other works.⁶³² "Gaṇeśa Purāṇa", which is an Upa-purāṇa glorifying Gaṇeśa, is said to have been produced in the Banaras region at a comparatively later period. Hazra's paper gives an analysis of the Purāṇa.⁶³³ In another article on "Gaṇapati worship and the Upa-purāṇas dealing with it" Hazra says that originally regarded as malevolent demons putting obstacles to men's work, the four Vināyakas gradually were fused into one elephant-god who became a remover of obstacles also. Gaṇapati was included among the *Pañcāyatana* (five deities) at a later period and the Gaṇapatya sect

628. *IHQ*, XXVIII, pp. 17-28.

629. *NIA*, V, pp. 1-20.

630. *ABORI*, XXVI, pp. 32-83.

631. *JGJRI*, II, pp. 305-320.

632. *Law Volume*, II, pp. 415-419.

633. *JGJRI*, IX, pp. 77-99.

came into being. No early Purāṇic work deals exclusively with the worship of Gaṇapati.⁶³⁴ A long list of chapters common to the *Sāmba* and the *Bhaviṣya* has been given by Hazra in "the *Sāmba-Purāṇa*—A Saura work of different hands."⁶³⁵ In a further paper entitled "the *Sāmba Purāṇa* through the ages"⁶³⁶ Hazra has shown that the *Sāmba* has a number of chapters common with the *Bhaviṣya*, *Brahma* and *Skanda* (*Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa*, 1). As regards common chapters, it is stated that the *Bhaviṣya* is the borrower; the *Sāmba* is the source of the *Brahma*; the text of the *Skanda* is based mainly on *Bhaviṣya*, but sometimes supplemented by *Brahma*. The *Sāmba* is placed between A.D. 500 and 800, while its interpolations are to be dated (1) between A.D. 700 and 950, (2) between A.D. 950 and 1050 and (3) between 1250 and 1500. Hazra has analysed the contents of the *Ekāmrapurāṇa* on the basis of a MS of the Purāṇa, which is conjectured to be a work of the tenth or eleventh century A.D. It is a Śaivite treatise in seventy chapters written in Orissa.⁶³⁷ Another article deals with "Kriyā-Yoga-Sāra, an independent Upapurāṇa written in Bengal."⁶³⁸ "Saura Purāṇa" by Hazra gives an analysis of the Purāṇa and dates it "not earlier than 950 A.D."⁶³⁹ The present Saura Purāṇa is distinct from the earlier Saura mentioned as a Mahāpurāṇa in the earlier Kālikā Purāṇa, and is a work of the Pāśupatas.

There is an analysis of "the *Bhaviṣyottara*, a non-sectarian Upa-purāṇa of wide popularity", whose date of composition is placed between A.D. 700 and 800.⁶⁴⁰ Manoranjan Shastri has invited attention to the

634. JGJRI, V, pp. 263-276.

635. To be published in ABORI; — cf JAS, L. XVIII, 2, p. 21

636. JAS, L. XVIII, 2, pp. 91-111.

637. PO, XVI.

638. BV, XII, pp. 59-58.

639. NIA, VI, pp. 103-111, 121-129.

640. Hazra, JOI, III, pp. 8-27.

"Svalpamatsya Purāṇa", hitherto unknown to scholars, of which two MSS in old Assamese characters are available in Assam. Compiled during the first half of the eleventh century, the work consists of 49 chapters of which the first five contain a summary of the first six chapters of the extant *Matsya*, and the remaining deal entirely with Dharma-sāstra material, viz. *Dāna*, *Pratiṣṭhā*, *Śrāddha*, *Āśauca*, *Prāyaścitta*, *Adbhuta*, etc.⁶⁴¹

S. K. De has contributed a number of valuable articles on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism and his book on the subject has already been noticed above. In "Bhāgavatism and Sun-worship,"⁶⁴² he opposes Grier-son's arguments in support of his theory that the monotheistic Bhakti doctrine of the Bhāgavata religion is a direct development of or was originally connected with Sun-worship. His other articles refer to "Bhakti-Rasa-Sāstra of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism,"⁶⁴³ "Caitanya as an author",^{643a} "Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's 'Caitanya-caritāmṛta'"⁶⁴⁴ and "Avatāra in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism."⁶⁴⁵ "Pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal" shows that the Caitanya sect of Bengal originated from the tradition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and owed a great deal for its development to the mystic emotionalism interpreted and established by emotional Saṁnyāsins from the time of Śrīdhara.⁶⁴⁶ Another series of articles deals exhaustively with the "Theology and Philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism"⁶⁴⁷ in the light of various works such as Saṁātana's *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta*, Rūpa's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, Jīva's *Śrīkṛṣṇasāṁdarbha*, *Tattvasāṁdarbha*, etc. Bengal Vaiṣṇavism

641. JGJRI. IX. pp. 183-188.

642. BSOS. VI. iii.

643. IHQ. VII. pp. 643-688.

643a. IHQ. X. pp. 301-320.

644. IHQ. IX. pp. 98-102.

645. Kuppaswami Comm. Vol., pp. 25-37.

646. Festschrift Winternitz, pp. 195-207.

647. IC, II, pp. 291-307; 447-464; 721-733; III, pp. 251-279; 633-651; IV, pp. 19-42.

attaches highest importance to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as it is believed to have been composed by Vyāsa after *Brahmasūtras* and other *Purāṇas*. *Śrīkṛṣṇasāṇḍarbha* is more theological than philosophical, and *Bhakti-sāṇḍarbha* gives the general characteristics of the devotional attitude of Bhakti. In another article, De writes about "some Bengal Vaiṣṇava MSS in Sanskrit" from the Dacca University MSS. Library.⁶⁴⁸ Mrinal Das Gupta deals in detail with "early Viṣṇu-ism and Nārāyaṇya worship."⁶⁴⁹ Kamala Ray has written about ten incarnations of Viṣṇu in Bengal.⁶⁵⁰ In the "Avatāras of Viṣṇu and their enumeration in some early Indian texts", J. N. Banerjea refers to the *Bhg.*, *Mbh.*, *Bhāgavata*, *Matsya* and *Pāñcarātra Saṁhitā*.^{650a} B. N. Krishnamurty Sarma⁶⁵¹ shows that Baladeva Vidyabhushana, a leading exponent of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, taught that the Caitanya school was really an offshoot of the Dvaita philosophy of Madhva.

Das Gupta, in the third volume of his *Indian Philosophy*, devotes a chapter to the "Philosophical Speculations of some of the selected *Purāṇas*,"⁶⁵² where he considers the theories about Brahman, Kāla, Ahaṁkāra, Yoga, Bhakti, etc. of the *Viṣṇu*, *Vāyu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Nāradiya*, and *Kūrma Purāṇas*. Jos. Abs draws attention to the heterodox systems of philosophy propounded by different *Purāṇas*, where side by side with Brahmanic systems, Vedānta, glorification of sacrifices, etc., we find some doctrines of Buddhism, and the inclusion of Buddha among the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu.⁶⁵³ Pusalker has contributed an arti-

648. IC, I, pp. 21-29.

649. IHQ, VII, pp. 93-116; 343-358; 735-759; VIII, pp. 64-84.

650. IHQ, XVII, pp. 370-385.

650a. *Bhārata Kaumudī*, I, pp. 61-68.

651. IC, IV, pp. 429-434.

652. Cambridge, 1940, Chap. XIII, pp. 496-511.

653. *Festgabe Jacobi*, pp. 386-396.

cle on "Purāṇic Cosmogony", where cosmogonic ideas of the Hindus have been examined from the Vedic times down to the time of the Purāṇas.⁶⁵⁴

S. L. Katre in his well-documented paper on "Avātaras of God" deals in detail with 33 incarnations of god on the basis of Purāṇic sources, giving a useful survey of the material on Avātaras scattered in different Purāṇas.⁶⁵⁵

R. S. Satyasrayi gives an account of the ancient Ṛṣi Aṅgiras and his family from the Vedas and Purāṇas and also of their propagation of the Vedic culture.⁶⁵⁶ Ancient Bhṛguś have similarly been dealt with by A. Padmanabhayya from Vedic, Purāṇic and epic literature.⁶⁵⁷

M. N. Ray writes about some *vidyās* in the Purāṇas, where he differentiates between *parā* and *aparā vidyā*, and between *vidyā* and *kalā*: 64 *vidyās* mentioned in the Purāṇas have been enumerated.⁶⁵⁸ Ghose deals with the antiquity of Gayā.⁶⁵⁹

K. S. Ramaswami Sastri⁶⁶⁰ tries to show how the Purāṇas explain the Vedas and how they have built up the national culture, and inspired the national literature. He also deals with the contents of the Purāṇas, their geographical and historical aspects, etc., and gives a brief summary of some Purāṇas.

In the "Vedic Mantras and Legends in the Purāṇas"⁶⁶¹ P. V. Kane briefly illustrates the view that though the rites, ceremonies, usages and religious

654. BV, II, pp. 177-191.

655. AUS, X, pp. 37-130.

656. JBORS, XXVI, II.

657. JOR, V, pp. 55-67; 80-100.

658. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar Comm. Vol., pp. 308-316.

659. JBORS, Sept. 1938.

660. Cult. Her., I, pp. 169-182.

661. Raja Comm. Vol., pp. 5-8.

views on which most of the Purāṇas lay emphasis are different from the Vedic tradition, they do not ignore the Vedic tradition but try hard to build on the foundations of the Vedic tradition, from a few passages of the *Brahma Purāṇa* which heads the lists of Purāṇas at least from the eleventh century if not earlier. D. C. Sircar has edited a text based on the collation of ten Purāṇas dealing with the list of peoples. Critical notes have been appended.⁶⁶² "Polity in the Purāṇas" has been dealt with by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, where references to the *Viṣṇu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Agni* have been given.⁶⁶³



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662. *IHQ*, XXI, pp. 297-314.

663. *Indian Review*, 1935, pp. 365-368.

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